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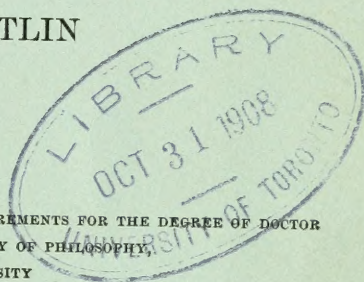
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# THE ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE AND SOME KINDRED CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH

BY

JACOB ZEITLIN

III



SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR  
OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY,  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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New York

1908





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## PREFACE

Perhaps no construction has been the object of so deep-rooted a misconception or of so oft repeated a misstatement as that which goes by the name of accusative with infinitive. The prevalent notion concerning the construction, that it is of fifteenth century origin and due to Latin influence, is indorsed by such scholars as Professor Jespersen. But the presence in Old English of a number of clear examples of accusative with infinitive makes it evident that the statement is in need of qualification. It was for the purpose of ascertaining the truth concerning this construction that the present dissertation was undertaken.

After a review of the various theories which have been advanced during the last century in regard to the origin and development of the accusative with infinitive, the writer briefly examined the status of the construction in a number of the Indo-Germanic languages. This was done with a view to determining its earliest phases in each language and the elements possessed in common by all. The examination was in the nature of a critical summary of the most important contributions on the subject in the separate dialects. The extent of the construction in Old English was next investigated. All the poetical texts were read, and on these, as being least subject to the contamination of Latin influence, the chief emphasis was laid. A number of original prose texts and translations were also read for the purpose of observing whether there was any distinct difference in the usage. In the Middle English period, five or six texts were chosen from each century. The selection was made from poetry and prose, and with a view to having the learned, the courtly, and the popular styles all represented. In many

cases texts were not read in their entirety, if a perusal of several hundred pages revealed a general uniformity in usage and no striking peculiarities. After the middle of the sixteenth century, when the construction may be considered to have attained its full development, a number of Shakespeare's plays and an equal amount of the prose of representative writers of successive periods was examined, for the sake of noting the extent of modern usage and the relative employment of the construction by various writers.

In illustrating the development of so common a construction it was, of course, inexpedient and unnecessary to make exhaustive citations from the texts examined. In the case of the more common and obvious phases, such as that of the active infinitive employed after verbs of causation and sense perception, only a few examples after any verb are given from Old English texts and the earliest occurrences from the Middle English texts examined, no illustration being given in any case after Chaucer. The passive infinitive after these verbs, as being more important, is illustrated more fully, but not exhaustively. For the rarer manifestations of the construction—after verbs of mental perception and declaration—all the occurrences in Old English are given either by quotation or by reference, while from the Middle English only as much is given as is required to indicate clearly the course of the development. This, it may be said, involves the citation of practically all occurrences except after such very common verbs as *think* and *know*. In Modern English the construction is illustrated only after verbs of mental perception and declaration. No more than one or two quotations from a writer are made after any particular verb, references being given for other passages.

This study was begun with the sole purpose of investigating the accusative with infinitive, but the course of the investigation forced upon the writer the consideration of several peculiarly Middle English constructions which have hitherto

been crudely associated with the accusative with infinitive, but which seemed in need of a different explanation. This gave rise to the fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation, in which the writer has attempted to classify all cases in which a substantive is used in conjunction with an infinitive. In the first of these chapters the use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb is discussed, while in the other there is grouped a series of examples illustrating a very striking use of the infinitive with imperative force in Middle English, together with some other miscellaneous usages. The examples for these two chapters were chosen from scattered sources.

There only remains the pleasant duty of extending my thanks to all those who through their generous co-operation have made the existence of this dissertation possible. To Professor G. R. Carpenter I am indebted for the original suggestion of the subject. I wish to thank Professor W. W. Lawrence for numerous helpful suggestions in regard to substance and style, and for his assistance in reading proof. The Indo-Iranian section of this dissertation owes its value in the greatest measure to the supervision, both in manuscript and in proof, of Professor A. V. W. Jackson, whose kindness and courtesy it is impossible to overestimate. My thanks are due also to Professor A. H. Thorndike for useful suggestions in regard to mechanical form, and to Mr. Leo Frachtenberg for help in reading proof. But my chief indebtedness is to Professor G. P. Krapp. From the initial step in the collection of material to the reading of the last proof-sheet, his constant guidance and unfailing counsel have made easy the execution of this task. I wish to express my deep gratitude to him for his share in this dissertation.

JACOB ZEITLIN.





## CHAPTER I

### HISTORY OF THEORIES

The interpretation of the construction of the accusative with the infinitive which is generally found in English grammars is based on a definition which Grimm formulated without considering its historical bearings, but merely from the observation of the special Greek and Latin application of that construction. "Whenever the accusative is so joined with the infinitive," so runs Grimm's definition, "that in the conception of the whole as consisting of two parts the accusative becomes the nominative subject of the second, dependent clause, we have the construction of accusative with infinitive."<sup>1</sup> Since the time of Grimm this construction has been fully investigated, but the results have not been applied to English. Krickau, for instance, views the construction "apart from its origin, considered only in its further development in the classical languages."<sup>2</sup> Regarding the construction from the same point of view, Th. Müller<sup>3</sup> and Wülfing<sup>4</sup> affirm that few cases of a "genuine" accusative with infinitive occur in Old English. Its rise, indeed, is generally as-

<sup>1</sup> "Ueberall nun, wo ein im Satz ausgedrückter Accusativ nicht zum herrschenden Verbo, sondern zu dem abhängigen Infinitiv dergestalt gehört, dass er bei Auffassung des ganzen in zwei den Nominativ des zweiten, abhängigen Satzes gebildet haben würde, ist die Construction des Accusativs mit dem Infinitiv vorhanden: *ih weiz in waltan* zerlegt sich in die beiden Sätze *ih weiz*, *daz er weltit*. Auch die Phrase *ih pat in queman* ist zerlegbar in *ih pat in*, *daz er quami*, gewährt aber keinen Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv, weil in geschehener Auflösung das *in* noch bei *pat* verbleibt." *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Acc. mit dem Inf.*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> 248.

<sup>4</sup> II, 182.

signed to the fifteenth century, and is attributed chiefly to Latin influence.<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this study to investigate the beginnings of this construction in English, to examine its kinship with the accusative and infinitive of other Indo-Germanic dialects, and then to trace its growth and development through the successive periods of the English language. But a glance at the leading theories in reference to the origin of the construction, which have been advanced during the past century, may first be of interest.

One of the earliest theories regarded the construction as something ready-made; it looked upon the accusative as possessing some primitive and natural affinity with the infinitive, and it explained this affinity by the help of logic rather than of grammar.<sup>2</sup> The origin of this explanation is ascribed by Jolly to Scioppius, who, in his "*Grammatica Philosophica*," says that "as every finite verb has a subject in the nominative expressed or implied, so every infinitive has one in the accusative, expressed or implied."<sup>3</sup> According to the statement of Egger, the infinitive is merely a method of subordinate expression, and this subordination is emphasized by the placing of the subject of the infinitive in the accusative case. M. Egger is aware that "this very simple but thoroughly logical explanation may seem astonishing at first sight," but he advises his readers to go to the Greek and Latin literatures and become convinced "that it is the only true one."<sup>4</sup> This, also, is essentially the view which had previously been expressed by Humboldt, who had remarked that the construction ought more properly to be called infinitive with accusative, because it is the former element which determines the case of the substantive. The infinitive,

<sup>1</sup> Jespersen: *Growth and Str. of Eng.*, 127; Schmidt: *Lang. of Pecoock*, 119; Krickau, *passim*; Gaertner, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Gernhard, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Jolly, 245.

<sup>4</sup> *Notions Élémentaires*, 136; *Apollonius Dyscole*, 256-257.

he said, represents the change from an independent to a dependent position; in that position it is governed by the main clause, and, in turn, governs all the elements of its own clause; therefore it must change the original nominative into a dependent case, the accusative, which, however, remains the logical subject of the infinitive.<sup>1</sup>

Opposed to this explanation by logic is the theory of the psychological school. This interpretation, first suggested by Koch,<sup>2</sup> and more fully developed by Schmittthenner,<sup>3</sup> has been very vigorously, almost fiercely, defended against all opposition by Schömann.<sup>4</sup> The infinitive, according to the view of Schömann, always stands in some position of dependence, whether the idea on which it depends is expressed in some verb or not. Even when not grammatically the object, the infinitive is invariably the object logically, and therefore any noun which is employed as its subject is inevitably felt as the logical object and must be expressed by the only case which is capable of indicating an objective relation, the accusative. He scouts the very pointed objection of Miklosich, which is that cases denote grammatical, not logical relations, and he seems to forget, as Albrecht points out,<sup>5</sup> that the dative and genitive cases, as well as the accusative, may indicate an objective relation. Schömann treats those cases in which the construction in question is the grammatical, as well as the logical object, as of secondary interest,<sup>6</sup> and he adds that the German language does not have and cannot possibly have the construction as it is found in Greek and Latin;<sup>7</sup> why

<sup>1</sup> *Indische Bibliothek*, 117 ff. The same view is to be found in Steinthal: *Log. Gram. u. Psych.*, 371-372; Reisig: *Vorlesungen*, 806 note.

<sup>2</sup> *De Linguarum Indole*, quoted by Jolly, 248.

<sup>3</sup> 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Redetheilen*, 46; *Zur Lehre v. Acc. c. Inf.*, 221-222.

<sup>5</sup> 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Zur Lehre v. Acc. c. Inf.*, 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

this should be so, in spite of the psychological basis of the idiom, he thinks it “unnecessary” to explain.<sup>1</sup>

But this interpretation of the accusative with the infinitive has within recent years received a more scientific exposition. In his “Lateinische Moduslehre,”<sup>2</sup> Dittmar maintains that the construction was developed from the accusative with infinitive used in exclamations. For example, when Titus learns that Gaius has been elected consul, he exclaims *Gaium consulem esse creatum!* and then adds *Admodum gaudeo!* or *Quis tibi istud dixit?* In the course of time these two originally independent sentences coalesce into a single sentence, and thus there arises the feeling that the accusative with the infinitive is to be employed after verbs expressing an emotion. The theory is further elaborated by Professor F. W. Thomas.<sup>3</sup> He starts from the nominative with infinitive which is sometimes employed in Sanskrit to denote a mere predication; thus *sōmō mādāya* may mean *soma is for intoxication* or *soma is intoxicating*. This construction is used most frequently in wishes and commands and can be directly connected with the Greek idiom in which the infinitive is employed in an analogous manner:

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀχαιοὶ  
εἴρυν θ' ὑψηλὸν τε τιθήμεναι *Iliad*, 23, 246-7.  
*Then that the Greeks must make.* . .

When no subject is expressed, as *Iliad*, 14, 501:

εἰπέμεναι μοι Τρῶες ἄγανού Ἰλιονῆος  
πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ γοήμεναι  
Ye Trojans (standing) near Ilioneus, *bid* his father and mother weep

we have an exclamation parallel to general directions with the infinitive in German, such as the sign “nicht hinausleihen” posted in railway carriages. “Now in these cases,”

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>2</sup> 311.

<sup>3</sup> *Classical Review*, XI, 372 ff.



Professor Thomas continues, "except where the second person is concerned, the accusative with the infinitive is incomparably the more common . . . in wishes even of the first person, while in commands we find it in Homer with the third person, and in later Greek it is the ordinary idiom for laws, decrees, and commands, and occurs with the greatest frequency in both inscriptions and books."

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἥ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν ἢ Τυδείος υἱόν *Iliad*, 7, 179.

*Would that Ajax or Tydeus' son should obtain the lot.*

But why have we an accusative in this construction and not a nominative? To assume an ellipsis is unsatisfactory, and "if no word is to be definitely understood, then we have a new idiom: and if so, how old? I think it belongs to the *Ursprache*. . . . If we assume that the primitive tongue employed an accusative of the subject and predicate in simple acclamations, and that such acclamations were used or could be used in the special sense of commands, wishes, expressions of surprise or admiration, then the whole question will be near solution." He professes to find just such an idiom in Sanskrit after the particle *ed*, e. g.,

éyāya vāyūr *éd dhatām vrtrām* *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 4. 1. 3. 4.

*Vayu went and lo! Vrtra slain*

and he considers this expression parallel to the English *him to do such a thing*, which he terms "the natural and usual expression of which the corrected form with *he* is merely an artificial variant." A cognate idiom, likewise, is the Latin *me miserum* and the Greek ὦ ἐμὲ δειλαίον, since the subject and predicate in the accusative are strictly analogous to the accusative with the infinitive. "There is therefore no reason for questioning the great antiquity of the construction. The fact being ascertained, we may well postpone the inquiry into its explanation. . . . In English also we feel the appropriateness of the idiom and we may

say that in any exclamation the subject when felt as an object would take the accusative case." The last statement is obviously a reassertion of Schömann's theory. "It follows at once" concludes Professor Thomas, "that in that large class of cases where the construction is dependent upon intransitive verbs (*a*) of *surprise*, *indignation*, and other emotions, (*b*) of *will* and *desire*, the hypotactic construction may be simply and directly derived from an original parataxis. We may compare also expressions, common in vulgar English, such as 'It is a shame *him to have treated* us so,' which are patently derived from an earlier parataxis."

One of the earliest grammatical explanations of our construction was suggested by a contributor to the "Heidelbergsche Jahrbücher der Litteratur" (1816).<sup>1</sup> He treats the infinitive as the direct object of a verb of *feeling* or *declaring* and the accusative as the case of specification, introduced to define more narrowly the scope of the infinitive. This writer is followed in essentials by Max Schmidt, who asserts that, whether the infinitive be dependent or independent, the accusative is always introduced to limit or define it.<sup>2</sup>

That the case of the noun is due to its relation to the main verb was asserted as early as the second century by the Greek grammarian, Apollonios Dyskolos, but the view had received scant courtesy from the philosophical grammarians.<sup>3</sup> It was first reiterated in modern times by Wachsmuth,<sup>4</sup> who declared that the accusative was directly dependent on the finite verb and that the infinitive was then joined to the accusative; but neither Wachsmuth nor the Heidelberg contributor explain why the infinitive should be used in the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Gernhard, 3, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber den Inf.*, 40. Reisig, *op. cit.*, 805-808, also adopts this view, though he later subjoins a note retracting it. Billroth in his *Latin Grammar* and Thiersch in his *Greek Grammar* likewise accept this interpretation; see Jolly, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Apoll. Dysk.*, 255-257.

<sup>4</sup> *De Acc. c. Inf.*, *Disputatio*, quoted by Gernhard, 2.

place of a finite verb.<sup>1</sup> Bopp's discussion of this idiom is somewhat more interesting. A finite verb, he says, may be doubly transitive: one of its objects may be a noun expressing an abstract action or quality, *i. e.*, an infinitive, while another accusative of a person may also be directly dependent upon it. The accusative in such a construction should not be called the subject of the infinitive, since it is the subject only logically and not grammatically. Its connection with the main verb is closer than with the infinitive.<sup>2</sup> In the sentence *I saw him fall*, *him* and *fall* are two coordinate objects of the verb *saw* and stand in apposition to each other (*I saw him and fall*), but that the action expressed by the second object applies to the first, personal object is quite clear from the context, though it is not indicated by the form.<sup>3</sup> For those cases in which the accusative of the person or thing is not directly governed by the main verb, Bopp adopts the same explanation as had been suggested by the Heidelberg writer and Schmidt, calling the accusative one of specification.<sup>4</sup>

The first scholar to employ the methods of comparative syntax in investigating our construction was Miklosich, but his conclusions were not of a very satisfactory nature. He found that in Gothic and Church Slavonic the dative case is frequently employed where the other Indo-Germanic dialects require the accusative, that, in fact, both the languages mentioned have a dative with infinitive construction corresponding to the ordinary accusative with infinitive. Since these two constructions are quite indistinguishable, they must, in his opinion, be traced to a common origin. It is obviously absurd, Miklosich adds, to seek for the explanation in the relation of the noun to the finite verb, since the same verb

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Albrecht, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Conjugationssystem*, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Vergleichende Grammatik*, III, 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Conjugationssystem*, 76; *Vergleichende Grammatik*, III, 317-321.

cannot take either an accusative or a dative case after it. Therefore we must find our explanation in the nature of the infinitive itself: its nominal origin makes it necessary that its subject should be in an oblique case, either the dative or accusative.<sup>1</sup> In attempting to account for the phenomenon of an accusative being used as the subject, Miklosich makes this surprising statement: since the original significance of the accusative is, and must forever remain, a secret, it is impossible for any one to explain this particular use of the accusative by reference to its primitive signification.<sup>2</sup> This is a statement which most students of comparative grammar do not accept as final. But Miklosich's chief error lies in his assumption that there is a close inner connection between the dative and accusative cases which makes them parallel in function.

It was Curtius who, in his "Griechische Schulgrammatik," made a suggestion which greatly illuminated the history of the construction. He thus stated the usage in Greek: when the subject of an infinitive is expressed, it is placed in the accusative case, whence the construction of accusative with infinitive. Not only the content of a declaration or a perception, but the result or consequence of an action may be expressed by the construction. It is thus found after verbs of *happening, demanding, commanding, forbidding*. The accusative is really dependent upon the verb of the main clause and is to be explained by prolepsis. For example, the sentence ἡγγειλαν ὅτι ὁ Κῦρος ἐνίκησε might be rendered ἡγγειλαν τὸν Κῦρον ὅτι ἐνίκησε, and then the infinitive νικῆσαι might be substituted for the clause ὅτι ἐνίκησε.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo*, 490-493.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 505.

<sup>3</sup> §§ 567-568. The proleptic explanation had already been suggested by Wachsmuth and Füisting (*Commentatio de Natura Acc. c. Inf.*), but neither of these men, as Albrecht (p. 13) remarks, had accounted for the use of an infinitive in place of a clause. After Curtius it was taken up by Delbrück (*Grundlagen der Griechischen Syntax*, 124-125) Albrecht, (13-14), Lindskog (*Erano*s, I, 129).



The use of the infinitive is here to be accounted for by its locative origin: 'they announced Cyrus *in conquering*.' But it was in justifying, against Schömann's objection, the use of the construction after impersonal verbs that Curtius enunciated his most important contribution. Although the accusative, he writes, was first governed by the main verb, yet syntactic feeling went so far astray that the case which stood close to the infinitive became entirely abstracted from the main verb and was construed as a concomitant of the infinitive, and hence, in time, came to be used with those intransitive verbs which, without an accompanying infinitive, would not admit an accusative case.<sup>1</sup> Curtius further notes that such modern usage as *ich höre ihn reden* or *ich heisse ihn kommen* does not differ radically from the special classical construction, but that in German the relation of the accusative to the main verb has never slipped from consciousness. This statement will be seen to apply with even greater force to the English use of the construction.

Curtius' ideas were taken up by a number of his own pupils and other disciples and were by them elaborated and modified. Jolly, for instance, thinks that the construction grew from such verbs of *causing* and *saying* as were originally followed by an accusative and that all subsequent developments are due to the operation of analogy.<sup>2</sup> The chief value of the investigations by Fleischer and Albrecht of Homer's use of the construction, consists in their demonstration of the gradual extension of the idiom. Both Albrecht<sup>3</sup> and Fleischer<sup>4</sup> assert that only the accusative was originally dependent on the main verb and that the infinitive merely had a sort of limiting, epexegetical force, but no connection what-

<sup>1</sup> *Erläuterungen*, 198-199. See also Fleischer, 25-26; Albrecht, 20; Wilhelm: *De Inf.*, 64-66; Schmalz: *Lateinische Syntax*, II, 288; von Planta: *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, II, 438; Krickau, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> 202-203.

<sup>3</sup> 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 7-10.



ever with the main verb.<sup>1</sup> Albrecht in particular emphasizes the locative origin as instrumental in the development of the idiom, and he supposes that the locative force was still felt in the Homeric poems; in this way he finds it possible to account for the construction with impersonal verbs.<sup>2</sup> Against this we must oppose the view of Delbrück, that, as far as syntax is concerned, the use of the infinitive can be traced back to a purely dative signification. Morphologically it may be explained as a locative or any other case, but all those cases which contributed to the development of the syntactical functions of the infinitive were in primitive times absorbed by the dative.<sup>3</sup> In the main the two dissertations in question are taken up with showing that in Homer the vast majority of examples are those which occur after transitive verbs, which, besides the full construction, may take either an accusative alone or an infinitive alone. They further show that many of the verbs at an earlier stage of the language had a transitive force which later was lost, and by this fact they account for the construction after those verbs. Particularly instructive is the illustration by Fleischer of the possible extension of the construction from certain type words.<sup>4</sup>

The whole matter is made very plain by Brugmann and Delbrück. The infinitive was originally a dative noun of action, used to express purpose. The action of the infinitive did not at first need to have a distinct subject; its subject might be that of the main verb or a dative or accusative dependent upon the main verb. This forms the basis of our construction. In time the accusative, which originally belonged to the transitive verb, was attracted to the infinitive

<sup>1</sup> Fleischer, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Fleischer, 15-18. This view has been most strongly defended by Deecke : *Beiträge*, 35-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Vergl. Syntax*, II, 441 ; Fleischer, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Fleischer, 34-43.

as its subject—a confusion of syntactical relations which was produced, partly, by analogy to dependent clauses with a distinct subject (cf. ‘I saw *him* flee’ with ‘I saw *that he* fled’). Later, verbs which were never associated with an accusative object assimilated the construction.<sup>1</sup> The manner in which this confusion of syntactical relations might sometimes come about is illustrated by Lindskog.<sup>2</sup> He points out that in very early Latin the accusative was employed after a large number of words with which it could not be used in later Latin. In the sentence *sentio eum fecisse*, for instance, the accusative and infinitive were originally separate objects dependent on the main verb, but, when it was no longer possible to construe *eum* as the object of *sentio*, the only alternative was to unite *eum* with *fecisse* into a single objective conception to *sentio*, and thus it came to be treated as a separate clause.

Quite recently a psychological explanation for the construction has been suggested by Fritz Wolff.<sup>3</sup> The latter classifies the locution under three heads: (1) where the object of the finite verb and the infinitive are present, e. g., *make him kill*; (2) where the object of the finite verb is lacking, but where the infinitive has an object dependent on itself, e. g., *make (some one) kill him*; and (3), a combination of (1) and (2), e. g., *make him kill him*. “The speaker,” Wolff explains, “when he causes the subject of the infinitive to direct his activity against an expressed object, must mentally free the subject of the infinitive from the main clause in order to gain clearness and vividness. As soon as the separation is complete, we have a certain case of accusative with infinitive.”<sup>4</sup>

These are the most important theories of the construction

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann: *Kurzvergl. Gram.*, § 807; Delbrück: *Vergl. Syntax*, II, 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Eranos*, I, 134–135.

<sup>3</sup> *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 491–500.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 499–500. Cf. Thomas, 379.

which have been advanced during the nineteenth century. The clearest explanation and the one most justified by the evidence of comparative syntax is that first suggested by Curtius and finally stated by Brugmann and Delbrück. A brief examination of the various Indo-Germanic dialects, with a view to ascertaining the earliest phases of the idiom, will clearly establish this point, and it is now in order to make this examination.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONSTRUCTION IN INDO-GERMANIC

#### (1) *Indo-Iranian*

Traces of the construction of the accusative with infinitive are to be found as early as the Vedic Sanskrit. As its basis Brugmann<sup>1</sup> cites the sentence,

tvám indra srávitavāi apas kaḥ      *RV*, 7, 21, 3.  
thou, O Indra, didst make the waters to flow,

in which the accusative *apas* and the infinitive *sravitavāi* are both dependent on the predicate verb, without themselves forming a direct syntactical entity. But there is a somewhat closer connection between accusative and infinitive in the following passages with *kṛ*, from the Veda :<sup>2</sup>

mā mātāram amuyā páttavē kaḥ      *RV*, 4, 18, 1.  
let him not cause his mother to perish so

kavīm akr̥ṇutam vicákṣē      *RV*, 1, 116, 14.  
ye have caused the poet to be discerning

sá nō jīvátavē kṛdhi      *RV*, 10, 186, 2.  
therefore make us to live

Bartholomae<sup>3</sup> further supplements this class of examples :

yád īm uśmási kártavē kárat tát      *RV*, 10, 74, 6.  
what we wish him to do, let him do that.

Whitney had translated the same passage “*what we wish to be done, may he do that,*”<sup>4</sup> but in so doing he not only

<sup>1</sup> *Kurzvergl. Gram.*, II, 603.

<sup>2</sup> *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 496.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge*, XV, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 982 b.

ignored the *īm*, but unnecessarily ascribed a passive force to *kartavē*.

Wolff, supported by the analogy of certain Avestan examples,<sup>1</sup> is inclined to admit the following passages as illustrations of our idiom.<sup>2</sup>

tvām ca sōma nō vāsō jīvātum ná marāmahē      *RV*, 1, 91, 6.  
do thou desire *us* to live, we would not die

tāthā kṛnu yāthā ta uśmāsi iṣṭāyē      *RV*, 1, 30, 12.  
do so, as we wish *thee* to prosper

asmākaṃ va īndram nśmāsi iṣṭāyē      *RV*, 1, 129, 4.  
we desire *our* (your) *Indra* to prosper you (us)

vayām vām uśmāsi iṣṭāyē      *RV*, 5, 74, 3.  
we desire *you* to prosper

For the classical Sanskrit the following examples may be adduced:

yadi mām ca jīvītum icchasi      *Sāvitṛi*, V, 100.  
if you wish *me* to live

rājānaṃ snātum tatra dadarśa      *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 20, 6, 172.<sup>3</sup>  
he saw *the king* bathe there

In addition to the very rare examples of this construction, there is found in classical Sanskrit the closely analogous idiom of an accusative with a predicate participle following a verb of wishing or of sense perception.

ahaṃ tvayā pratyabhijñātam ātmānaṃ icchāmi      *Śakuntala*, *Chez.*, 158, 6.  
I wish *myself* recognized by you

tām viditvā ciragatām      *MBh.*, I, 5962.  
having known *her* gone for a long time

na vivēda gatām nīśām      *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 64, 49.<sup>4</sup>  
he did not know *the night* gone

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 491-495.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Edition*, p. 89; *Brockhaus Edition*, I, 314.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm: *De Inf.*, 65-66.



The expression “*mām jīvantam icchāsi*” (you wish me *living*) also occurs as a variant of *mām jīvitum icchāsi*.”<sup>1</sup>

From the Avestan Bartholomae has gathered a few examples after verbs of wishing.<sup>2</sup>

yē hīm ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāt      Yas., 50, 2.  
he who may desire *it* (the cattle) together with the pasture *to be* his

aṭ tōi ātrēm ahurā aojōhvantēm ašā usōmahī asištēm ōmavantēm stōi  
rapantē ciθraṇavaṇhēm      Yas., 34, 4.  
Then through Asha, O Ahura! we wish thy mighty, powerful  
*Fire*, which is inculcated, *to be* of manifest help unto the adherent.

yōng usvahī uštā stōi      Yas., 46, 16.  
*whom* we wish *to be* in happiness.

yezi vasən mazdayasna jvōdaxštēm maēθmanēm      Vd, 15, 46.  
if the worshipers-of-Mazda wish *a dog in heat* *to copulate*

Our construction has, apparently, a very limited range in the Indo-Iranian languages. It occurs only after transitive verbs, and, as our examples indicate, “the accusative which depends on the infinitive depends on the verb of primary declaration as its object.”<sup>3</sup>

## (2) Greek

When we come to the Greek, we find a far broader development of the idiom, but it is a development which can be traced to the same sources as the Indo-Iranian construction. Its simplest and commonest form, as found in Homer, is after factitive and causative verbs, where, as in Indo-Iranian, the accusative depends directly on the main verb and serves as the logical subject of the infinitive, which also is dependent upon the main verb.

<sup>1</sup> Höfer: *Vom Inf.*, 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge*, XV, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm, 66.

πρό με πέμψε ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 παῖδά τε σοὶ ἀγέμεν *Iliad*, 1, 442.  
 Agamemnon sent *me* to lead the child to thee

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' αἰδοῖν ἀνῆκεν αἰδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν *Odyssey*, 8, 73.  
 The Muse encouraged *the bard* to sing the exploits of the heroes

τόνδε δ' ἐγὼ τοι  
 οἰχομένη πεπιθήσω ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι *Iliad*, 22, 223.  
 I shall go and persuade *him* to fight against him

εἰ δέ κε λίσσωμαι ὑμέας λῦσαί τε κελεύω *Odyssey*, 12, 163.  
 if I implore and bid *you* to release

For other verbs of this class which admit the locution but are not ordinarily construed with an accusative as direct object, it would be easy to assume the operation of analogy. But a more satisfactory explanation is often obtained by a study of the remoter history of the governing verb. Thus we find εἰάω employed by Homer with a direct object in the accusative case, in the sense of *to leave*:

\*Ἴππους μὲν γὰρ ἔασε καὶ ἄρματα  
 he left the horses and the weapons

Other meanings of this verb are *cease*, *spare*, *neglect*, *pass by*, from which its later meaning of *permit* or *allow* was developed. For this reason εἰάω is construed with an accusative and infinitive instead of with the dative which customarily follows verbs of *allowing*:

οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ  
σημαίνειν εἰασκεν ἐπὶ δμῳῇσι γυναιξίν *Odyssey*, 22, 426.<sup>1</sup>  
 his mother did not allow *him* to rule over the handmaids

Similarly the verbs κελεύω and κέλομαι originally had a transitive force and seem connected, according to Fleischer, with the root of καλέω.<sup>2</sup> The transitive force is clear

<sup>1</sup> Fleischer, 34-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

from such passages as *κέλεται δέ με θυμός* (*Iliad*, 19, 187), and *κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστήρ* (*Odyssey*, 6, 133), and it accounts for the much greater frequency with which Homer employs the accusative with infinitive than the dative with infinitive.<sup>1</sup>

Verbs of sense perception offer no peculiarities in Greek and stand in no need of illustration, since such verbs are always followed by a direct object in the accusative case. But the verbs of *saying* and *thinking* are instructive in their development. The verb connected with *φημί* originally meant *to make clear* and was transitive. The signification of *saying* is derivative, and the persistence of the transitive force with the new meaning is illustrated by

εἰ περ γάρ σ' ἔκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει     *Iliad*, 8, 153.  
if Hector *declare thee* base and unwarlike

ἀνὴρ δὲν φημι . . .     *Iliad*, 5, 184.<sup>2</sup>  
the man *whom I speak of*

This verb took the accusative with infinitive very commonly, and to its influence may be ascribed the occasional use of the construction after other verbs of *saying*, assisted, often, by a lurking transitive force within the verbs themselves, as in *μυθέομαι*:

πάντας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι     *Odyssey*, 11, 517.<sup>3</sup>  
I shall not *name all*

In considering verbs of *thinking*, Fleischer takes his departure from *οἶω* and *οἶομαι*.<sup>4</sup> He is unable to adduce as clear citations as with the preceding verbs to prove their original transitive force, but he asserts that they must at one time have indicated a sense perception,—a statement which

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 38–39.

<sup>2</sup> Fleischer, 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 48–49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

he supports by the fact that the verbs are occasionally found in conjunction with the explanatory phrase *κατὰ θυμόν* or *θυμῷ*. Its earlier conjectural sense, to *foresee*, is furthermore in harmony with the frequent use of the future infinitive after the verb. If we grant that *οὔμαι* is primarily a verb of sense perception, hence transitive, its construction with an accusative and infinitive is satisfactorily explained, and other verbs of *thinking* may be assumed to have followed the analogy of *οὔμαι* when they lack justification for the usage within themselves.<sup>1</sup>

By the same principle the use of the accusative with infinitive is accounted for after impersonal verbs also. *Χρή* is the third person singular of what was originally a transitive verb meaning *to take*, from which there was later derived the sense *to urge*, *to force*, etc. In its latter signification it was joined with a subject in the nominative case and an object in the accusative:

τί σε χρή ταῦτα λέγεσθαι      *Iliad*, 13, 275.  
what urges you to speak these things?

οὐδέ τί με χρή  
ἀσκελὲς ἐὼς μενεαίνέ μεν      *Iliad*, 19, 68.  
impels me ever to be stubbornly wrathful

When the verb took on the meaning *it is necessary*, the subject was lost and only the accusative with infinitive remained. The impersonal verb *δεῖ* experienced a similar change, its original meaning of *bind*, *compel*, being illustrated in the following passage:

τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσιν  
Ἀργείους      *Iliad*, 9, 337.  
what compels the Argives to war against the Trojans?

Other impersonal verbs were more naturally construed with a dative and an infinitive, but changed the dative to an

<sup>1</sup> *Fleischer*, 52-54.

accusative when the latter came to be felt as the case most appropriately associated with the infinitive.<sup>1</sup>

The extension of the idiom to intransitive and neuter verbs must be ascribed to the operation of analogy working through the cognate meanings of the various expressions. When the combination of an accusative and an infinitive into a single syntactical element became completely crystallized, it was probably found easy to transfer it from the verb *βούλομαι*, with which it was common, to the neuter verb *βουλή μοί ἐστι*.<sup>2</sup>

These few illustrations, though necessarily brief and incomplete, suffice to show that the rich and varied use of the accusative with infinitive in Greek, like its meagre and limited use in Indo-Iranian, has its origin in the relation of the accusative to the predicate verb of the main clause as its object, and does not depend on some unexplained relation between accusative and infinitive.

### (3) *Latin*

In Latin our locution reached its greatest development, but here also there is no question that the usage goes back to those cases in which the accusative served as the object of the main verb. From our earliest literary monuments we find the construction employed after verbs of *making, causing, allowing, commanding, seeing, hearing*, etc. Examples such as "*tu facis me vivere*" (Plautus), "*familiam ne sieriis peccare*" (Cato), are too simple to require extensive citations, and our glance at the history of the locution in Greek has shown how the construction may extend to verbs of kindred signification. The Oscan-Umbrian dialects furnish a few transition examples in which the relation between the accusative and the main verb is still very plain.

<sup>1</sup> Fleischer, 59-63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.



*Oscan*: *pod ualaemon touticom tadait ezum*  
*Latin*: *quod optimum publicum censeat esse*

*Umbrian*: *pursikurent rehte kuratu eru*  
*Latin*: *pronuntiaverint recte curatum esse*

*Umbrian*: *panta muta . . . eru pepurkurent*  
*Latin*: *quanta multa . . . (adfertori) esse poposcerint.*<sup>1</sup>

These dialects, early as they are, exemplify the construction in its fully developed stage, with the accusative, namely, in feeling quite independent of the main verb, *e. g.*,

*Oscan*: *pous touto deiuatuns tanginom deicans siom . . . deicum*  
*Latin*: *ut populus iurati sententiam dicant se . . . dicere*

*Oscan*: *deiuatud . . . siom . . . pertumum*  
*Latin*: *iurati . . . se . . . perimere.*<sup>2</sup>

Lindskog has pointed out <sup>3</sup> that the wide extent of the locution in Latin is in a measure due, as in Greek, to the use of the accusative in earlier Latin after verbs which ceased to admit such a usage in the classical language. The following passages from Plautus and Terence illustrate the earlier usage:

<i>censeo</i> : <i>quid illum censes</i>	Terence: <i>Andria</i> , 853.
<i>nescio</i> : <i>illa illum nescit neque compressam autem pater</i>	Plautus: <i>Aulularia</i> , 30.
<i>nescio</i> : <i>deos nescio; ego quod potero, sedulo</i>	Terence: <i>Heautontim.</i> , 1038.
<i>dico</i> : <i>scio ut me dices</i>	Plautus: <i>Menaechmi</i> , 433.
<i>sentio</i> : <i>neque eo nunc dico, quo quicquam illum senserim</i>	Terence: <i>Heautontim.</i> , 554.
<i>spero</i> : <i>dis sum fretus, deos sperabimus</i>	Plautus: <i>Casina</i> , 346.
<i>deos sperabo teque</i>	Plautus: <i>Miles Gloriosus</i> , 1209.

<sup>1</sup> Von Planta, II, 438.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 468.

<sup>3</sup> *Eranos*, I, 127.

<i>nolo</i> : quom quae te uolt eandem tu uis	<i>ib.</i> , 1071.
<i>vos</i> uolo . . . et nos te	<i>ib.</i> , 1267.
<i>si</i> quid te uolam	Plautus : <i>Asinaria</i> , 109.
<i>nolo</i> : nolo uictumas	Plautus : <i>Pseudolus</i> , 329.
iam nolo <i>argentum</i>	Plautus : <i>Persa</i> , 127. <sup>1</sup>

This old use of the accusative maintained itself longest in the proleptic construction. The difference between classical usage and that of Plautus and Terence is indicated by the parallel citations below :

<i>Plautus and Terence</i>	<i>Cicero</i>
<i>nescio</i> : at pol ego eum, qua sit facie, nescio Plautus : <i>Poenulus</i> , 592.	Quod <i>de fratre</i> ubi eum uisuri esse- mus nesciebamus <i>Atticus</i> , III, 7, 3.
<i>quaeso</i> : quaeratis <i>chlamydem</i> et <i>machaeram hanc</i> , unde ad me pervenerit Plautus : <i>Curculio</i> , 632.	in quo etiam <i>de animis</i> , cuius gene- ris essent, quaereretur <i>Fin.</i> , IV, 5, 82.
<i>perspicio</i> : priusquam tuom ut sese habeat <i>animum</i> ad nuptias perspexerit Terence : <i>Andria</i> , 377.	Nam <i>de Pollione Asinio</i> puto te per- spicere quid facturus sit <i>Fam.</i> , XI, 9, 1.
<i>scio</i> : scio equidem te animatus ut sis Plautus : <i>Trinummus</i> , 698.	Volo etiam <i>de naufragio Caniniano</i> scire, quid sit <i>Atticus</i> , XII, 44, 3.
<i>video</i> : vides <i>me</i> , ornatus ut sim Plautus : <i>Rudens</i> , 573.	Nunc videamus, quaero, <i>de summo</i> <i>bono</i> , quod continet philoso- phiam, quid tandem attulerit <i>Fin.</i> , XV, 6, 14. <sup>2</sup>

The passages from Plautus and Terence in which the pre-  
dicative verb is followed by an accusative case as direct object  
and by a proleptic clause indicate the stage from which the  
accusative with infinitive construction was immediately de-  
veloped by the substitution of the infinitive for the proleptic  
clause. The accusative with infinitive is also richly exempli-

<sup>1</sup> *Erano*s, I, 127-128.

<sup>2</sup> *Erano*s, I, 132.

fied in the plays of Plautus and Terence. In classical Latin many of these verbs had assumed a more special meaning, and the greater precision of the language demanded the employment of a definite prepositional phrase where a rough accusative had sufficed for the earlier writers. This dissociation of the accusative from the main verb resulted in welding the former into a closer syntactical unity with the infinitive and stimulated the rapid extension of the construction in classical Latin.

#### (4) *Gothic*

The consideration of our construction in Gothic is beset with several difficulties. Not only is the body of Gothic literature very meagre, but what we have of it is dominated entirely by Greek, so that it is difficult to determine the normal limits which our idiom would have had if unsupported by the Greek. For this we are in part compensated by a number of divergences from the original, which, in view of the general fidelity of the translation, are significant.<sup>1</sup>

The construction after factitive verbs is found in all the Germanic dialects; its employment in Gothic, therefore, need not be ascribed to Greek influence.

taujan : hwazūh saei aflētiþ qēn seinā . . . taujiþ þō hōrinōn *Matthew*, 5, 32.  
 whoever puts away his wife causes *her* to commit adultery

jah gatauja iggis wairþan nutans mannē *Mark*, 1, 17.<sup>2</sup>  
 and I will make *you* to become fishers of men

That this construction was natural to Gothic is indicated by its substitution in several places for a different Greek locution, *e. g.*,

<sup>1</sup> The text of Streitberg's new edition of the *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (1906) has been consulted in all possible instances, and it has not been found to affect, in the case of this construction at least, the customary inferences concerning the translator's usage.

<sup>2</sup> Also, *Mark*, 7, 37.

*gatawidēdun anakumbjan allans*  
ἀνέκλιναν ἅπαντας

*Luke, 9, 15.*

*sunus þanzei wili liðan gatauþj*  
ζωποιοεῖ

*John, 5, 21.*

*gawaurkjan: gawaurhta twaliþ du wisan miþ sis*  
ἐποίησε . . . ἵνα ᾧσιν

*Mark, 3, 14.<sup>1</sup>*

Closely connected with factitive verbs in signification are *lētān*, *fralētān*, and *haitān*. According to Apelt,<sup>2</sup> words of this class cannot be said to govern the accusative with infinitive strictly, because the object belongs to the main verb rather than to the infinitive, and herein Apelt follows the narrow limits of Grimm's definition.

*lētān: lēt þans dauþans filhan seinans dauþans*  
ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νεκροὺς

*Matthew, 8, 22.<sup>3</sup>*

*fralētān: jah ni fralailōt rōdjan þōs unkuþþōns*  
καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια

*Mark, 1, 34.<sup>4</sup>*

*bidjan: bēdun ina . . . galeiþan*  
ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν . . . ἀπελθεῖν

*Luke, 8, 37.*

*haitān: haihait galeiþan sipōnjans hindar marein*  
ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν

*Matthew, 8, 18.*

The closeness of this use to the strict classical accusative with infinitive is more readily observed when the Gothic active infinitive is used to translate a Greek passive:

*haihait ina tiuhan du sis*  
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν

*Luke, 18, 40.*

*haihait wōrþjan du sis þans skalkans*  
εἶπεν φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς δούλους

*Luke, 19, 15.*

<sup>1</sup> Other examples are: *Mark, 8, 25; Luke, 5, 34; John, 6, 63; II Cor., 9, 10; Skeirins, V b, VII, c.* With *gamanwjan*: *I Cor., 9, 5.*

<sup>2</sup> Pfeiffer's *Germania*, XIX, 296.

<sup>3</sup> Also, *Mark, 7, 27; 10, 14; Luke, 4, 41; 9, 60; 18, 10; John, 11, 44; 18, 8; etc.*

<sup>4</sup> Also *Mark, 5, 37; 7, 12; Luke, 8, 51.*

There are even a few examples after *bidjan* and *anabiudan* in which the accusative is entirely detached from the main verb, but these are literal translations of the corresponding Greek passages.

bidjandans, ni swarei *anst* guþs *niman* izwis II Cor., 6, 1.  
 παρακαλοῦμεν μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς

anabiuda . . . *fastan* þuk þō anabun I Tim., 6, 13.  
 παραγγέλλω . . . τηρήσαι σε τὴν ἐντολήν

Verbs of *seeing* and *hearing* are followed in Greek quite regularly by a substantive (in the accusative case after verbs of *seeing*, in the genitive or accusative after verbs of *hearing*) and by a participle in agreement with the substantive. This construction Gothic generally imitates faithfully, but in a few places it substitutes the accusative with infinitive and thus betrays the natural tendency of the language.

gasaihwīþ *sumi* mans *ussteigan* John, 6, 62.  
 θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν . . . ἀναβαίνοντα

þan gasaihwīþ þata *wairþan* Mark, 13, 29.  
 δταν ἴδῃτε ταῦτα γενόμενα

hwan *filu* hausidēdun *waurþan* in Kafarnaum Luke, 4, 23.  
 ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα . . .

Examples of the customary construction with the participle are:

gasahw *mōtari* . . . *sitandan* Luke, 5, 27.  
 ἐθεάσατο τελώνην . . . καθήμενον

weis gahausidēdun *qīþandan* *ina* Mark, 14, 58.  
 ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος

bigat *unhulþōn* *usgaggana* jah þō *dauhtar* *ligandein* ana *ligra* Mark, 7, 30.

εὔρε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξεληλυθὸς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα βεβλημένην ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης

Verbs denoting a mental action seem to be treated exactly like verbs of sense perception. The accusative with infinitive



occurs a number of times in Gothic independently of the original.

rahnjan: ni wulwa rahnida <i>wisan sik</i> galeikō guþa οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἰσα θεῶ	<i>Phil.</i> , 2, 6.
þatuh rahnida in Xristaus sleiþa <i>wisan</i> ταῦτα ἡγῆμαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημεῖαν	<i>Phil.</i> , 3, 7.
wēnjan: unte wēnja mik hwō hweilō <i>saljan</i> at izwis ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς	<i>I Cor.</i> , 16, 7.
wēnja . . . swikunþans <i>wisan uns</i> ἐλπίζω . . . πεφανερῶσθαι	<i>II Cor.</i> , 5, 11.
munan: man auk ni waihti mik minnizō <i>gataujan</i> λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι	<i>II Cor.</i> , 11, 5.
munandans <i>sik aglōns urraisjan</i> οἴμενοι θλίψιν ἐγείρειν	<i>Phil.</i> , 1, 17.
gatraujan: jabai hwas gatrauaiþ <i>sik silban Xristaus wisan</i> εἰ τις πέποιθεν ἐαντῷ Χριστοῦ εἶναι	<i>II Cor.</i> , 10, 7.
wiljan: wileidu <i>fraleitan</i> izwis þana þiudan Judaie θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Ἰουδαίων	<i>Mark</i> , 15, 9.

More often the use of the accusative with infinitive after these verbs of mental perception is due to a literal imitation of the Greek.

rahnjan: ak mais sildaleikjandans frauþins <i>laisēin swikunþaba</i> in allaim alamannam faura <i>wisan</i> rahnidēdun <i>doctrinam . . . existere</i> putabant	<i>Skeirins</i> , VIII, b.
hugjan: hugjandōna in gasinþjam <i>ina wisan</i> νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ εἶναι	<i>Luke</i> , 2, 44.
galaubjan: triggwaba galaubjand auk allai <i>Jōhannen</i> praufētu <i>wisan</i>	<i>Luke</i> , 20, 6.
πεπεισμένοι γὰρ εἰσιν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι	
gadōmjan: eis allai gadōmidēdun <i>ina skula wisan</i> dauþau οὐδὲ πάντες κατέκρινον αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου	<i>Mark</i> , 14, 64.
munan: ik mik <i>silban</i> ni nauh man <i>gafāhan</i> ἐμ αὐτὸν οὕτω λογίζομαι κατελιγμέναι	<i>Phil.</i> , 3, 13.

witan : unte wissēdun silban Xristu ina wisan      *Luke, 4, 41.*  
 ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι

wiljan : ne wilda witan mannan      *Mark, 7, 24,*  
 μηδένα ἠθέλε γινῶναι

ni wileima þana þiudanōn ufar unsis      *Luke, 19, 14.*  
 οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

Several times the active infinitive is used after *wiljan* to translate a Greek passive infinitive.

hwaiwa wildēdi haitan ina      *Luke, 1, 62.*  
 τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν

That the use of the accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental action is not foreign to Gothic, may be inferred from the frequent occurrence of an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle after verbs of this class. These two constructions are practically identical.

rahnjan : sa mik silban wairþana rahnida      *Luke, 7, 7.*  
 οὗδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἤξιωσα

þiwōs seinans frauþans allaizōs swēriþōs wairþans rahnjainē      *I Tim., 6, 1.*  
 δεσπότας . . . ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθωσαν

gahugjan : galaubjandan mik gahugida      *I Tim., 1, 12.*  
 πιστὸν με ἠγάθησατο

munan : ibai hwas mik muni unfrōdana      *II Cor., 11, 16.*  
 μητίς με δόξη ἀφρονα εἶναι

gamunan : gamuneis Xristu Iēsu urrisanana      *II Tim., 2, 8.*  
 μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγγεγεμένον

dōmjan : inōtarjōs garaihtana dōmidēdun guþ      *Luke, 7, 29.*  
 ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν θεόν

kunnan : ei kunneina þuk aīnana swaiþu guþ      *John, 17, 3.*  
 εἶνα γινώσκωσι σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν

ufkunþa maht usgaggandēin      *Luke, 8, 46.*  
 ἔγων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν

witan : wait mannan . . . frauwulanana þana swaleikana      *II Cor., 12, 2.*  
 οἶδα ἀνθρώπον . . . ἀρπαγέρτα τὸν τοιοῦτον

After *qīþan* Gothic generally employs a clause introduced by *ei* (*that*) instead of the Greek accusative with infinitive, the former being the regular native construction. But the original is imitated in a few passages.

*hwana mik qīþand mans wisan*  
*τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι*

*Mark, 8, 27.*

*þaiei qīþand usstass ni wisan*  
*λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι*

*Mark, 12, 18; Luke, 20, 27.*

*qēþun þeihwōn wairþan*  
*ἔλεγον βροντὴν γεγενέσθαι*

*John, 12, 29.<sup>1</sup>*

An examination of the foregoing examples will show that it is possible in nearly every instance to connect the accusative with the verb of the main clause as an object to it. But when the translator encountered an accusative with infinitive after an impersonal verb, he found it impossible, apparently, to render it faithfully and still preserve the Gothic idiom. When the object referred to a person, therefore, he changed the accusative case to a dative and thus brought the substantive into closer relation with the main verb as a sort of dative of advantage.<sup>2</sup>

*jah warþ þairhgaggan imma . . . þairh atisk*  
*καὶ ἐγένετο διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτόν*

*Mark, 2, 23.*

*jah warþ . . . galeiþan imma in synagōgein iah laisjan*  
*ἐγένετο δὲ . . . εἰσελθεῖν αὐτόν . . . καὶ διδάσκειν*

*Luke, 6, 6.*

*swaei mis mais faginōn warþ*  
*ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι*

*II Cor., 7, 7.*

*hwaiwa aglu ist þaim hugjandam afar faihau in þiudangardja guþs galeiþan*  
*Mark, 10, 24.*

*πὼς δύσκολόν ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν*  
*βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν*

<sup>1</sup>Other examples of the construction after verbs of mental action and of speaking are: *Mark, 10, 36; Luke, 19, 27; 20, 41; I Cor., 7, 7; 10, 20; 11, 13; II Cor., 4, 6; I Tim., 2, 8; 5, 14; II Tim., 2, 18.*

<sup>2</sup>Pfeiffer's *Germania*, XIX, 287-289.

It seems safe to assume with Apelt that the few instances in which Gothic employs an accusative with infinitive after an impersonal construction are slavish imitations of the Greek.

azētizō ist himin jah airþa hindarleīþan þau witōdis ainana writ  
gadriusan Luke, 16, 17.

εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ  
νόμου μὴν κεφαλὰν πεσεῖν

This analysis, furthermore, justifies us in construing as datives the doubtful substantives in the following sentences:

mēl ist uns us sleipa urreisan Romans, 13, 11.  
ᾠρα ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἐξ ὑπνοῦ ἐγερθῆναι

gōd ist unsis hēr wisan Luke, 9, 33.  
καλὸν ἐστι ἡμᾶς ὥδε εἶναι

More frequently Gothic substitutes a clause with *ei* for the accusative with infinitive in such passages. The same holds true of the use after *swaswē* and *swaei* (Greek ὥστε). Generally <sup>1</sup> the accusative with infinitive of the original is translated by a clause, but there are sporadic cases of literal imitation.

swaei þata andaneipō izwis mais fragiban jah gablaihan II Cor., 2, 7.  
ὥστε τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι

### (5) Old High German

In Old High German we are confronted by some of the same difficulties that are met with in Gothic. Much of the prose literature is translated from Latin and the rest is clearly under the influence of Latin models. It is hardly permissible to assume <sup>2</sup> that an original text like the "Evan-gelienbuch" represents the widest usage which Old High German ever had. Since the construction was on the wane

<sup>1</sup> E. g., Mark, 1, 27; II Cor., 3, 7; 7, 7; 8, 6; Romans, 7, 6, etc.

<sup>2</sup> As is done by Apelt: *Ueber den Acc. c. Inf. im Ahd. und Mhd.*, 12.

in Middle High German, but was even there more freely employed than in the "Evangelienbuch," we may with greater security adopt the criterion established by Denecke, that where the construction occurs in Middle High German it probably also occurred in Old High German.<sup>1</sup>

Otfrid's relatively limited use of the accusative with infinitive is freer than that allowed by the modern German idiom. After factitive verbs the construction is fairly common.

**gituon :** *ih tuon irvuih uuesan mannō fiscārā*      Tatian, 19, 2.<sup>2</sup>  
*faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum*

**gituost tu mih erstān**      Notker, II, 29a5.<sup>3</sup>  
*thou makest me to arise*

**gifestenōn :** *den dū dir gefestenōtōst uuesan einiclicho liēbin*  
 Notker, II, 289a16.  
*whom you establish to be for yourself the only life*

**lāzen :** *liaz thaz wuastweldi sīn*      Otfrid, I, 23, 9.<sup>4</sup>  
*he caused the waste-world to be*

Verbs of *permitting* and *commanding* are also generally joined with an accusative and infinitive.

**lāzen :** *wir sculun . . . lāzan sīn thaz slāfan*      Otfrid, IV, 37, 7.  
*we should let sleep be*

**heizan :** *hiaz inan irwintan*      Otfrid, II, 9, 52.  
*he bade him turn around*

*hiaz er sie bringan thero fisgo*      Ib., V, 13, 35.  
*man sie hiēz legem spiritalem intellegere*      Notker, II, 446b15.

**bittan :** *bat sih katrean daz wip*  
 Müllenhof u. Scherer's *Denkmäler*, X, 5.  
*asked the woman to give him a drink*  
*in bāten chomen*      Notker, II, 446b15.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Gebrauch des Inf., bei den Ahd. Uebersetzern*, 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. Sievers.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ed. Hattemer.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ed. Erdmann.*



<b>gibiotan :</b> <i>gibōt her thiē jungiron stīgan</i> <i>iussit discipulos ascendere</i>	Tatian, 80, 7.
<b>lēren :</b> <i>lēri unsih betōn</i> <i>doce nos orare</i>	Tatian, 34, 5.
<b>wellen :</b> <i>willih inan wonēn</i> <i>volo eum manere</i>	Tatian, 239, 3.
<b>ni wollemēs</b> <i>thesan rīhhison</i> <i>nolumus hunc regnare</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 151, 3.
<b>uuolta</b> <i>mih uuesen sīna sponsam</i>	Notker, II, 64b12.

Besides the accusative with infinitive, these verbs also employ an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle.

<b>lāzen :</b> <i>er wihtes ungedān ne liaz</i> <i>he did not leave aught undone</i>	Otfrid, v, 4, 46.
<b>in caleitit</b> <i>unsih ni lāzzes</i> <i>induci nos ne siveris</i>	<i>Murbach Hymns</i> , 2, 10. <sup>1</sup>

### Verbs of sense and mental perception :

<b>gisehan :</b> <i>sah sī druhtīn stantan</i> <i>in imo sāhun sie gotes kraft scīnan</i>	Otfrid, v, 7, 44. <i>Ib.</i> , II, 11, 29.
<b>ih sah in</b> <i>habēn gēislicha genāda</i> <i>I perceived him to have spiritual grace</i>	Notker, II, 128b14.
<b>hōren :</b> <i>then fater hōrt er sprechan</i> <i>thaz ir hōrtut quedam mih</i> <i>what you heard me say</i>	Otfrid, I, 25, 15. <i>Ib.</i> , II, 13, 5.
<b>findan :</b> <i>thesan fundumēs . . . quedan</i> <i>hunc inueniemus . . . dicentem</i>	Tatian, 194, 2.
<b>chiusen :</b> <i>chiuset tih taz kemugen</i> <i>perceives you to be able (to do) this</i>	Notker, III, 253a8.
<b>gewār werden :</b> <i>sie uuurten guār die sangcutenna dār zu faren</i> <i>they noticed the muses go there</i>	Notker, III, 258b26.

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. Sievers.*

irkennen: ih irkanta . . . *thia kraft hiar faran fona mir*  
 Otfrid, III, 14, 36.

I recognized . . . *the might go before me*

wānen: wāntun *sih geist gisehan* Tatian, 230, 3.  
 existimabant *se spiritum videre*

wāntun *in wesan* Ib., 12, 3.  
 existimantes *esse*

wānit *sih ambaht bringan* Ib., 171, 3.  
 arbitretur obsequium *praestare* (accusative lacking)

daz man *sih uuānet uuesan dīnhalb helfelose* Notker, II, 206a9.  
 that one thinks *himself to be* helpless

rachōn: vuanda uuir *daz ende geuuār rachōtōn guōt uuesan*  
 Notker, III, 149b4.  
 for we deemed *the end to be* good

bechnāen: ih pechnāta *mih uuandallichin* Notker, II, 222a9.  
 I acknowledged *myself converted*

wizzen: *den er uueiz sih mugen fersueren* Notker, II, 402a3.  
 whom he knows *to be able to* forswear himself

zuīvelōn: zuīvelōst tu danne *daz uuesan naturlich ambaht tero fūozo*  
 Notker, III, 168b3.  
 do you doubt *that to be* the true service of the feet

ahtōn: *daz ahtōt er uuesen daz pezesta* Notker, III, 99b36.  
 he considers *that to be* the best

There are other examples with *truwen* (Notker, III, 233b7), *gedenchan* (ib., III, 336b35), *erhugen* (ib., III, 166b31), and *ratiscōn* (ib., III, 229b8).

This class of verbs very frequently takes an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle.

(gi)sehan: *gisāhun . . . fisgā brāntenti* Otfrid, V, 13, 32.  
 they saw *the fish broiling*

*thih sulichan gisahi* Ib., V, 20, 84.  
 he saw *thee such*

fīndan: *fand sia drūrenta* Ib., I, 5, 9.  
 found *them mourning*

funtī <i>ganzan sīnan sun</i> found <i>his son whole</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , III, 2, 22.
wizzen: wir wizun <i>inan firdānan</i> we know <i>him wicked</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , III, 20, 108.
sie <i>sih wēstīn reinan</i> they knew <i>themselves pure</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , IV, 12, 21.
ih weiz <i>megin fon mir ūzgangen</i> novi <i>virtutem de me exisse</i>	Tatian, 60, 6.
zēlen: <i>thaz er nan zalta sō guat</i>	Otfrid, II, 7, 58.

The persistence of the construction after these verbs of perception in Middle High German is an indication of its genuine Germanic character. Grimm cites among other examples:

ich sach vil liehte varwe *hān die heide*  
ich sihe *si hān sō suezez leben*  
ich hōrtin wol den ersten *sīn*  
ich erkenne *alle diesen Stücke wār sīn*

Luther has "ich achte *es* billich *sein*," and Opitz at the end of the seventeenth century writes "acht ich *es* das beste *sein*." There are also such eighteenth century survivals as "ich habe *dies geschehen zu sein* mir erzählen lassen" and "da ich *mich zu liegen* vermerkte."<sup>1</sup>

The accusative with infinitive after verbs of *speaking* is hardly found outside of Tatian and Notker, but we are not therefore justified in attributing it to Latin influence, since plentiful analogies exist in other Germanic dialects.

quedan: ir quedet <i>mih werphan diwalā</i> dicitis <i>ei cere me demonia</i>	Tatian, 62, 3.
er chad <i>sih finden sīn herza</i> he said <i>his heart to find itself</i>	Notker, II, 306b30.
chundan: <i>sih chundida wesān chisendida</i> announced <i>himself to have been sent</i>	Isidor, 10, 11. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed.* Weinhold.

lichazen : lichizita *sih* rūmor *faran*  
finxit *se* longius *ire*

Tatian, 228, 1.

iehen : pediu sulen uuir iehen guot *uuesen* allero dingo *ende*

Notker, III, 149b6.

we should affirm *the end* of all things *to be* good

bezeichnen : tiu dir bezeichnenet *eteuuaz uuesen*

Notker, III, 475b30.<sup>1</sup>

which indicates to you *something to be*

The "Murbach Hymns" once employ an accusative with a predicate participle after *sprechan* to translate a Latin accusative with infinitive.

*erstantan truhtinan* sprichit  
*resurrexisse dominum* fatetur

19, 10.

Peculiar to Notker and probably due to Latin influence is the use of the locution after verbs expressing an emotion, *e. g.*,

chlagetost tu dih tir *unrehto uuesen gelōnōt*  
do you complain *that injustice was done* to you

III, 40a5.<sup>2</sup>

In considering the usage with impersonal and neuter verbs we must remember that many Old High German expressions of this class govern an accusative case as direct object, *e. g.*,

ist wuntar : ist filu *manno* wuntar  
great wonder is on the men

Otfrid, v, 1, 1.

wuntar was *thia menigi*  
wonder was on the multitude

*Ib.*, I, 9, 27.

ist niot : thes *thih* mag *wesan wola* niot  
of this you it may well be pleasing (you may well rejoice at this)

*Ib.*, v, 6, 14.

<sup>1</sup>Other examples in Notker are found after *sprechen* (III, 506b31), *lougnen* (III, 168b), *antwurten* (III, 252b34 ; 242a8), *sagēn* (III, 203a12).

<sup>2</sup>Other examples after *riuwen* (III, 45a3), *zihen* (III, 475b30), *zurnen* (III, 107b20).

thes ist *sie* iamēr filu niot  
they are ever pleased at this

*Ib.*, v, 22, 7.

wola ward : ward wola *thiu selbun mennisgon* *Ib.*, v, 9, 11.

When an object infinitive is added to sentences like the preceding, we have a combination which is hardly distinguishable from the free Latin accusative with infinitive. But it is quite apparent from these illustrations that the assumption of Latin influence is not necessary, that the accusative, indeed, is almost always felt as directly connected with the main verb, and that these cases, therefore, do not differ from the other categories of the accusative with infinitive which are found in Old High German.<sup>1</sup>

gilustit : *then lesan iz gilusti* Otfrid, i, 1, 10.  
*whom the desire takes to read (den es verlangt)*

gilimphit : *gilimfit mih gangen.* Tatian, 92, 1.  
*oportet me ambulare*

gilamf *inan varan* *Ib.*, 87, 1.  
*oportebat eum transire*

bifāhit : *ni bifāhit wīzagon vorwerda* *Ib.*, 92, 1.  
*non capit prophetam perire*

In Notker, impersonal verbs with this construction seem to follow Latin models in most cases, since often the accusative has no connection whatever with the main verb, which is followed by another substantive in the dative case as indirect object.

ist offen : unde offen sī sament tein līchamen *ersterben dia uuerltsālda*  
III, 68b3.  
it is plain *that* together with thy body earthly happiness will perish

ist chunt : tir ist chunt . . . alla *dia erda sih kezihen uunder demo*  
himile III, 84b29.  
it is known to you . . . *that* the whole earth moves . . .

ist not : fone diu ist nōt, chad si, misseliche namen *habēn diu finniu*  
und siu doh ein *uuesen* III, 124b29.  
hence it is necessary . . . *that* the five should have different names  
and yet be a single thing

<sup>1</sup> Denecke, 44.



(6) *Old Saxon*

In Old Saxon the accusative with infinitive presents no difficulties. It is found after verbs expressing a causation and a sense or mental perception, but it occurs neither after verbs of speaking nor after impersonal verbs.

- dōn**: *gehirmen duon uuir alla dāga firlica* *Psalms, 73, 8.*  
*quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos*
- thu mahtis an ēnon dage all teuerpan*  
*that hōha hūs heðancuninges,*  
*stēnuuenco mēst endi eft standan giduon* *Heliand, 5574.*
- dōit im iro hugi tuīflīen* *Ib., 5188.*
- lātan**: *Thō lēt hi that uueroð thanan . . . sīðon* *Ib., 1986.*
- Ne lāt thu thi thīnan hugi tuīflīen,*  
*merrean thīna mōdgithāht* *Ib., 328.*  
 2346; 2633; 4951; 5031; 5690.
- hatan**: *hēt sie im thō nāhor gangan* *Ib., 1255.*
- hēt ina standen up ia fan themu graðe gangan* *Ib., 4097.*
- hietun thuo hōðidband hardaro thorno*  
*uuundron uuindan endi an uualdand Crist*  
*selðon settean* *Ib., 5499.*  
 317; 2117; 2388; 3571; 3724; 3860; 4505; 5508.
- biddian**: *ina gerno bad helpan* *Heliand, 2094.*
- bādun thō sō gerno gōðan drohtīn*  
*antlūcan thea lēra* *Ib., 2578.*
- gisehan**: *thō he gisah that barn cuman* *Ib., 474.*
- uui gisāhun is bōcan skīnan* *Ib., 599.*  
 601; 2180; 2217; 4538; 5009; 5093; 5295; 5373.
- hōrian**: *gihōrdun uuīlspel mikil fon gode seggean.* *Ib., 527.*
- siu gihōrda ira barn sprecan* *Ib., 831.*
- thō sie that gihōrdun thea magað sprecan* *Ib., 2777.*
- findan**: *Thō sie Ērōdesan thar rīkean fundun*  
*an is seli sittien* *Ib., 548.*  
 807; 818; 4770; 5460.

uuitan : thar he thene ðdagan *man* inne uuisse  
 an is gestseli *gōme thiggean*,  
*silttean* at sumble

*Ib.*, 3337.

Like Gothic and Old High German, Old Saxon admits an accusative with a predicate participle or adjective after these verbs.

sehan : quāðun that sie *quican* sāhin  
*thene erl* mid iro ðgun

*Heliand*, 4129.

huan gisah *thi* man ēnig  
*bethuungen* an sulicun tharaðun

*Ib.*, 4405.

findan : fand sie *slāpandie*

*Ib.*, 4797.

fundun *ina gifaranan* thuo iu

*Ib.*, 5700.

uuitan : thar hie uuissa that godes barn,  
*hrēo hangondi* hēren sīnes

*Ib.*, 5730.

thar sie *ina* ēr biforan *uðilan* ni uuissin,  
 uuordun *faruuarhten*

*Ib.*, 5185.

uuissun *ina sō gōden* endi gode uuerðen

*Ib.*, 2726.

sīðor hi *ina hlutran* uuēt sundeono *sicoran*

*Ib.*, 1719.

tellian : the sie *thō uuīsostun*

undar theru menegi manno taldun

*Ib.*, 4467.

he *ina sō rikean* telit

*Ib.*, 5103.

## (7) Old Norse

The richness of Old Norse literature in the construction of the accusative with infinitive contains a suggestion of what may have existed in the other Germanic dialects whose surviving documents are too meagre to furnish an accurate measure of the extent to which they employed the locution. No better illustration of the inadequacy of Grimm's definition for the Germanic languages could be desired than the attempted application of it to Old Norse by Lund. Lund classifies his examples under two categories: one of these he calls the accusative *and* infinitive to indicate that the union between these two elements is a loose one, while he terms the

other accusative *with* infinitive because the two forms are there joined in a firm syntactical combination. But he adds that "the two sometimes run together, so that it is very difficult to make a distinction."<sup>1</sup> Though it is justifiable to note the distinction between the two uses, we must recognize that the latter is derived immediately from the former and that the transition from one to the other is practically unnoticeable.<sup>2</sup>

lāta: vil ek at þū lātir <i>mik vita</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 168.
hann lét þā fara með sem þeir vildu	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 19.
biðja: bið ek barna sífar <i>duga</i>	<i>Ægisdr.</i> , 16.
þorvaldr bað <i>biskup</i> fara til Íslands	<i>Kristn.</i> , 4.
sjá: hann sēr utlenda <i>menn koma</i> í höll fœðin síns	<i>Alex.</i> , 2.
þā sjā þeir átján <i>menn renna</i> í möti sēr	<i>Dropl.</i> , 23.
þā er guð faðir sá <i>son sinn vilja</i> sva gott verk göra	<i>A. M.</i> , 675, 17.
heyrta: ef þū þjóta <i>heyrir ulf</i>	<i>Sigurðukv.</i> , II, 22.
finna: Billings <i>mey</i> ek fann beðjum á solhvíta, <i>sofa</i>	<i>Havam.</i> , 96.

### Verbs of mental perception:

trúa: þeir trūðu <i>hann guð vera</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 148.
hyggja: ek hyg <i>hann vera</i> engan vin þinn	<i>Egilss.</i> , 169.
hygg ek nū hēr <i>vera komna velfesta bændr</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 3.
engi <i>jötun</i> ek hugða <i>jafnramman vera</i>	<i>Vafþr.</i> , 2.
hygg ek þik æpa <i>munu</i>	<i>Harbarslj.</i> , 47.
ætla: ekki er því at leyna, at ek ætla <i>Urpak stólit hafa</i>	<i>Band.</i> , 12.
þat ætla ek yþr <i>kalla Öðäinsakur</i>	<i>Fornald.</i> , III, 66.
hafa: þeir höfðu <i>hann engum fyrr sēt sitt höfuð hneigja</i>	<i>Alex.</i> , 16.

<sup>1</sup> *Ordaføjningslære*, 379.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Falk and Torp: *Dansk-norskens Syntax*, § 128.

geta: ek get <i>Harold skjött munu hēr koma</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 4.
vita: veit ek öfullt ok opit <i>standa sonar skarð</i> , er mér sjär um vaun	<i>Sonartor.</i> , 6.
ask veit ek <i>standa</i>	<i>Voluspa</i> , 62, 19.
allt er þú veit í mínum hūse <i>vera</i>	<i>Hrafnk.</i> , 9.
dæma: dæmdan <i>yðr vītislaussan verða</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 123.

## Verbs of speaking:

segja: þeir sogðu <i>okkr eiga börn saman</i>	<i>Kristn.</i> , 22.
þeir sogðu <i>hann svikit hafa lánardrottinn sinn</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 24.
Heiðrekr segir <i>son Haralds konungs vera æztan</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 25.
eigi nennir Darius heðan af at segja <i>hamingja blinda vera</i>	<i>Alex.</i> , 46.
kveða: hann kvað þat eigi <i>vera</i>	<i>Hrafnk.</i> , 13.
Úlfr kvað <i>hann mundu því ráða</i> , en kvað sēr <i>mart hafa verit</i> í mót gört af <i>Haraldi</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 60.
þik kveð ek allra kvena <i>vergjarnasta vera</i>	<i>Ægisdr.</i> , 17.
at þú þēr <i>Frey kveðir öleiðastan lífa</i>	<i>Skirnism.</i> , 19.
kalla: kalla ek <i>yðr vera yfirkomna</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 28.
konungr kallaði <i>son Heiðreks vera æztan</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 25.
telja: tēl ek <i>bræðr þína hafa fallit</i> ügilda ā själfra sinna <i>verkum</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 163.
taldi þræla Steinars <i>hafa nōgar sakir til gört</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 216.
þeir tölðu <i>hann verða mundu ägætan mjök at afli</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 19.

## Construction with predicate participle or adjective:

bidja: konungr bað <i>hann velkominn</i>	<i>Fornm.</i> , I, 16.
vilja: þeir er þik <i>vilja feigan</i>	<i>Dropl.</i> , 35.
sjä: þeir sä <i>Römevya nēr alla laupa þar vāpnæða</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 149.
trūa trüir þú þann <i>guð</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 4.
vāenta: vāntir ek þik mér ok þeim <i>altraustan</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 122.

**dæma** : dæma hinn vesta *mann sekjan, þjóf, ok mandræpsmann* *Band.*, 18.

**skilja** : jarlinn skildi í því *kominn endadag sinn* *Fornm.*, v, 388.

**vita** : hann vissi *sik eigi þar til mjök úlikan ok vanfæran* *Stjorn.*, 2.

*sā maðr er vēr vitum mestan ok agæztan* *Sn. Edda*, 5.

*þā konu er hann vissi vænsta* *Helg. Hjorv., pref.*

**segja** : hōn segir þā *sätta* *Band.*, 14.

*þing skal laust segja* *Grag.*, 107.

**kveða** : Steingerðr kvað *hann vænna* *Korm.*, 18.

*pik kveð ek öblauðastan alinn* *Fafnism.*, 23.

**telja** : þeir telja *hana fullmjök djarfa ok úvitra* *Flatey*, I, 40.

**jāta** : jätum vēr *hann guð* *Sn. Edda*, 4.<sup>1</sup>

This very free use of the construction in Old Norse is highly interesting in view of its greatly restricted limits in modern Danish. With verbs of mental perception and declaration the use has been almost extinct since the Renaissance, *finde* being practically the only verb of these categories which now admits the construction.<sup>2</sup>

## (8) *Summary*

From a brief survey it appears that a number of the Indo-Germanic languages at a very early period in their history possessed the construction of an accusative with infinitive in its simplest and most limited form after verbs of causation—a construction in which accusative and infinitive were at first separately dependent on the main verb. In some dialects, such as the Sanskrit, it developed very little beyond

<sup>1</sup>All the Old Norse examples are taken from Lund's *Oldnordisk Ordþj- ningslære*. The index to the references is to be found pp. iii-vi of his preface.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Falk and Torp : *Norsk-danskens Syntax*, §128. For the use in Old Swedish, which scarcely differs from that of Old Norse, see Grimberg : *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, n. s., XVII, 205-235 ; 311-357.



this stage, but even Sanskrit, in the classical period, illustrates the use with verbs of seeing, and also employs a predicate participle, equivalent to an infinitive, after verbs of mental action. In all of the Sanskrit examples the main verb is unmistakably transitive, and it is this fact which determines the case of the substantive in our construction.

In Greek and Latin, where the developments were far richer, the point of departure in no wise differed from that of the Sanskrit. Originally the construction was only possible after transitive verbs which were followed by an accusative case, but through the operation of two important forces its use was greatly widened. In the first place, a number of verbs which were commonly associated with the accusative and infinitive suffered a change of meaning which involved the loss of their transitive force, and the effect of this was to dissociate the accusative completely from the main verb in these cases. It was now inevitable that the accusative should be felt as forming a strict union with the infinitive, and, when the construction became thus crystallized, the way was prepared for the operation of the second force, that of analogy. Having gained admittance after certain intransitive verbs, it naturally spread to others, and then there was no difficulty in applying it even to impersonal and neuter verbs whose meaning was akin to those with which the construction was customary.

The usage in the early Germanic dialects represents a stage intermediate between Sanskrit on the one hand and Greek and Latin on the other. All Germanic languages employ the accusative with infinitive commonly after verbs of causation and of sense perception, and quite frequently after verbs of mental perception. Gothic, and, even more, Icelandic, show the locution likewise after verbs of declaration, where the relation of the accusative to the main verb is no longer obvious. In the former, this phase of the construction has sometimes been unnecessarily attributed to the in-

fluence of Greek. In Old High German there are even instances of the use of the accusative with infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs in documents where Latin influence is not probable. But verbs so construed are found to admit a pure accusative also. It is permissible, therefore, to assert that the use of the accusative with infinitive in Germanic is conditioned and limited by the dependence of the substantive on the verb of the main clause. Usages which violate this condition can, as a rule, be proved imitations of foreign syntax. In such surviving Germanic languages as Danish, Swedish, and German, only the faintest traces of the construction remain with verbs of mental perception, and this fact, in view of the steady development of the construction in English, is of considerable interest.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE IN ENGLISH

It was stated at the beginning of this essay that the rise of the accusative with infinitive in English has generally been ascribed to the Latin influence which set in strongly at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The unqualified nature of this belief is best represented by the following generalizations found in a recent dissertation. "Pecock's extensive use of the accusative with infinitive after this third group of verbs [mental perception] is characteristic of his style. Krickau calls him the writer 'welcher mit der Einführung des Acc. mit dem Inf. nach den Verben des Sagens und Denkens begonnen hat.' And thus much is certain, that before Pecock this construction is very sporadically to be found. Einkenel (*Anglia*, VIII, 94 sqq.) gives a few examples from Chaucer (after *conferme, deeme, holde, wite*) and two from O[ld] E[nglish] after *weene*. In Wycliffe's sermons I have found: '*sixe thingis tellith Crist to come* in his passioun' p. 106; '*he seith his apostlis to be hise friendis*,' p. 170. If Peacock may thus be termed the introducer of this kind of accusative with infinitive, yet it was a considerable time before the construction became really incorporated in the English language. According to Krickau (*ibid.*, p. 19) it does not occur at all in other prose works of the fifteenth century such as: Prose Romaunce of Merlin (about 1450), Morte D'Arthur (1469), Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye (1471), Golden Legend (1483); and it is not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that it begins to reappear. In the Elizabethan period the construc-

tion is used about as commonly as in Present English.”<sup>1</sup>  
The following investigation is intended to test the accuracy of this statement.

## A. VERBS OF EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED CAUSATION

The commonest class of verbs with which our construction is found in English, as well as in other Indo-Germanic languages, is that of expressed or implied causation.

### (1) *Verbs of Causing*

#### Old English

<b>lætan</b> ; hē lēt heo þæt land būan	<i>Gen.</i> , 239.
Ic on andwritan nū ofer seofon niht sīgan læte wællregn ufan wīdre eorðan	<i>Ib.</i> , 1348.
Drihten sende regn from rōderum, ēac rūme lēt willeburnan on woruld þringan of ædra gehwære, ēgorstrēamas swearte swōgan	<i>Ib.</i> , 1371.
hīe þā fromlice lēton forð flēogan flāna scūras	<i>Jud.</i> , 220.
Hwīlum heaþorōfe hleapan lēton on geflit faran fealwe mearas	<i>Beow.</i> , 864.
Lēt sē hearda Higelāces þegn brādne mēce . . . breccan ofer bordweal	<i>Ib.</i> , 2977.
Læt nū of þīnum staþole strēamas weallan	<i>Andr.</i> , 1503.

<sup>1</sup>Schmidt: *Language of Pecoek*, 119. Compare also Gaertner (*Zur Sprache von Utopia*, 103); Robinson's translation uses the accusative with infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking, "wo sie erst im 15. Jahrh. durch Pecoek in ein Originalwerk eingeführt wurde und dann bald eine weitere Verbreitung fand, während der acc. c. inf. vordem nur vereinzelt und als nachahmung des lat. gesetzt wurde." See also Krickau, *passim*.

Lēton þā ofer fifelwæg fāmige scrīðan  
bronte brimpisan

*Elene*, 237.

Since Old English had no infinitive which was passive in form, it was obliged, like other Germanic dialects, to employ the active form to express a passive meaning.<sup>1</sup> Often, indeed, it is difficult to determine whether in a given instance the infinitive is to be construed as active or passive. In sentences like “*hāt mynster timbrian*” or “*lēt hine ofslēan*,” it is perhaps only our modern analytic feeling for the language which inclines us to associate the substantive in the accusative case immediately with the predicate verb which precedes it, and to make it the object of that verb rather than of the infinitive which comes after. There are, however, a number of passages, which will be cited in their proper place, in which the active form of the infinitive is employed to translate a Latin passive, and there are some instances in original texts in which the interpretation of the infinitive as passive is scarcely to be questioned, *e. g.*,

Dā ic wīde gefrægn weorc gebannan  
manigre mægþe geond þisne middangeard

*Beow.*, 74.

ic ondræde gif sum dysig man þās bōc ræt oððe ræðan gehyrð

*Ælfric: Introd. to Gen.*, 27.

The verbs which are found to take this construction in Old English are the same as in the other members of the Germanic branch: *lētan*, *hātan*, *hýran*, and *sēon*.

*lētan* (with passive infinitive):<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“Lange begründet ist in unserer Sprache nach den Verbis *hören* und *sehen* den inf. act. zugleich passivisch zu gebrauchen; ich höre *erzählen* (audio narrari), ich sah ihn mit Füße *treten* (calcari), ich kann kein Thier *schlachten* (mactari) sehn; . . . Gleich zweideutig ist die bedeutung des Inf. hinter den Verbis *lassen* und *heissen*; erst der Zusammenhang gibt zu erkennen, ob die active oder passive gemeint werde. . . .” Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 61–63. See also Wilhelm, 36; Wülfing, II, 191; Steig: *Zsfd Ph.*, XII, 311.

<sup>2</sup>Of none of the examples classed in this way can the positive assertion be made that the infinitive is passive. I have here included all examples in which the passive interpretation is probable.



lēton him þā betweonum *taan wīsian*

*Andr.*, 1099.

Swā bið gumena gehwām  
se þe oftost his unwærlice  
on þās lēnan tīd lif biſcēawað,  
lēteð *hine beſwīcan* þurh swētnes stenc

*Whale*, 62.

Swā swýðe nearwelice hē hit lētt ut *āspyrian* þæt . . .

*Chronicle*, 216.

*castelas* hē lēt *wyrcean*

*Ib.*, 220.

*sume* hē lēt *þrēagan* mid heardum broce, þæt hī leornigen þone  
cræft geþyldelicu  
*alios duris agitari, ut virtutes animi . . . confirmant*

*Boethius*, 133, 25.

gif hī lētað hī *sefe bebyrgan* on hāligre stōwe

Gregory : *Dialogues*, 341, 36.

*si in sacro loco sepeliri se faciant*

Læt hī ealle *fordōn*

*Ælfric*, 96, 155.

ne læt þū mē naht *beſwīcan*, ne næfre mīn gewit fram þē gehwerfan,  
ne mīn mægþhād *āfylan*

*Ib.*, 172, 67.

And ne læt þū mē næfre mīne *sāwle beſwīcan*

*Ib.*, 175, 175.

*dōn* (active infinitive) :

Oc se ilce Hēanri dide þone *king tō understandene* *Chronicle*, 257 ; 259.

dide him *gyuen up* þæt *adbrice* of Burch and faren ut of lande

*Ib.*, 262.

dide *heom cumen* þider

*Ib.*, 266.

þone *ēadigan Matheum* hē gedyde *gangan tō* þām *ēast-dæle*

*Blick. Hom.*, 239.

utan biddan *ælmihtine* God ðe ðe *eardian* dēð þā *ēadmōdan* in his  
fæder hūse

Bede, 502, 18.<sup>1</sup>

In Middle English the construction spread rapidly to all verbs of causing and became the regular syntactical combination after these words.

<sup>1</sup>Cited by Wülfing, II, 184. The examples after *don* here quoted are exhaustive for the texts examined.

## let (passive infinitive) :

He let *hym*, þo he was ded, *burye* at þilke gate Robt. of Glouc., 44.

Oþer radde, þat he schulde al myd þe kyndome  
late ys *dogter spousi* to an hey prince of Rome *Ib.*, 89.

lete his *doughtur be y spoused* *Ib.*, note.

A *mychel tour longe & brade*  
In Ierusalem he let *be made* *Curs. Mundi*, 7877.

But if he let *hit so be hid* *Ib.*, 9279.

## do (active infinitive) :

and his up *ariste do me stepen* uwward in heie and holi þeawes  
*Hom.*, I, 207.

forte don *him understanden* *Ib.*, 221 ; II, 57 ; 145, etc.

he doð *men hungren* and *hauen* Crist *O. E. Misc.*, 17, 543.

þenne doþ *him pyne nyhtes wake* *Ib.*, 95, 60.

and don *hem monen* his sinfulhed  
2351 ; 2752 ; 2927 ; 3482. *Gen.-Ex.*, 180.

## don (passive infinitive) :

And to her ynne dud *hit be born* *Curs. Mundi*, 4856.

And dude *her sackes to be vndone* *Ib.*, 5004.

Forgyue me þat I dud *you take*  
In to bondes wipouten sake *Ib.*, 5079.

I shal *you do aqueynted to be* *Ib.*, 5298.

his modir dud *him for to hide* *Ib.*, 5609.

A *cofur of yerdes* dud she *be wrought* *Ib.*, 5614.

Do *hit in þe fuyr be brint* *Ib.*, 6086.

And have my trouthe, but thou it finde so,  
I be thy bote, or that it be ful longe,  
To peces do *me drawe*, and sithen *honge* *Troilus*, I, 831.

ffor thei seyn thou dedist *their brother to be slain* *Merlin*, 41.

and how ye sholde do *hym be brent* *Ib.*, 51.

comaunde her that she do *the childe to be delyuered* *Ib.*, 89.

do *the to be bore* in a lytier *Ib.*, 92.

dide *hym to be baptised* *Ib.*, 112, etc.

**make** (active infinitive) :

- þine licome þe hit þe makeð *don* *Hom.*, I, 21.  
 and makede *arisen* mid him *alle þa þet* him efden er ihersumed  
*Ib.*, 141 ; 205 ; 267 ; 269.  
 he makeð þe *unbilefulle man to leuen* *Ib.*, II, 11.  
 makeð *him to forlese his aihte* *Ib.*, 13 ; 29 ; 111 ; 213.  
 þe *blynde* he makede *loki* and þe *dede aryse* *O. E. Misc.*, 39, 54.  
 he makeþ *vs don* *sunnan* *Ib.*, 72, 7, etc.  
 Alle men owe þat lord to drede  
 þat made *mon to haue mede* *Curs. Mundi*, 271.  
 slegely he made *Adam to slepe* *Ib.*, 626 ; 808 ; 1865 ; 2517, etc.

**make** (passive infinitive) :

- feirnesse and lufsum neb, flesch hwit under schrud makes *moni*  
*mon beo lued* te raðer and te mare *Hom.*, I, 269.  
 He made *vs alle* in bale *be brought* *Curs. Mundi*, 614.  
 Siþ he made *him alle out dryue*  
 Foule & beest mon & wyue *Ib.*, 1909.  
 Alle speke of hir she was so shene  
 And so hir preyed to þe kyng  
 þat he *hir* made to him *brynge* *Ib.*, 2416.  
 þis verrei knowlechyng schal make *men to ben approued of crist*  
 at þe day of dome *Wyclif*, 22.  
 ye knoweth well that he maketh *hem to ben waisschen* in a water  
*Merlin*, 2.  
 make *it to be baptiseth* *Ib.*, 14.  
 The kyng made *hem alle be shett* in a stronge house  
*Ib.*, 29 ; 26 ; 40 ; 57 ; 62 ; 64 ; 68 ; etc.

**nede** (active infinitive) :

- man *him wile* neden his sinnes *to forleten* *Hom.*, II, 75.  
 þei neden *prestis to figtte & werre* *Wyclif*, 99.  
 & nedid *alle prestis to leue þe betre & take the worse lif* *Ib.*, 190.

**nede** (passive infinitive) :

- & so þei neden *hem to be dampnyd* *Ib.*, 57.

**gar** (active infinitive) :

- Til Gregory gerte *clerkes to go* here and preche *Piers Pl.*, xv, 436.

gar (passive infinitive) :

Thyne absens gars *thi saull be shent* Townley, 350, 299.

(com)move (active infinitive) :

And many tymes haue moeued *þe to þinke on þine ende*  
Piers Pl., xii, 4.

and this commeveth *me to speke* Troilus, v, 1783.

by the whiche he moued gretely *his goodnes for to forgyue hym*  
Fisher, 73, 29.

forsothe it sholde moue *us to haue pyte & compassyon*  
Ib., 280, 28 ; 299, 1 ; 344, 31 ; 374, 8 ; 389, 2.

bring : Heo brogte *oure lord Jhesu Christ to dye on þe rode*  
Robt. of Glouc., 61.

bind : thou hast vtterly bounde *me by thy grace and many-folde*  
benefytes *to be thy seruuaunt.* Fisher, 40, 14.

cause (active infinitive) :

cause *me to dye* Troilus, iii, 1505.

Yet, er that ye *me cause so to smerte* Ib., iv, 1448.

This prison caused *me nat for to crye* C. T., A, 1095.

I shall not do nothinge that sholde cause *hym to be angry*  
Mertin, 51.

and that sholde cause *hym to foryete a grete partie of his sorowe*  
Ib., 71.

cause (passive infinitive) :

be about to cause *synnes to be done* Fisher, 20, 29.

that may so spedefully cause *ony creature to be blyssed* Ib., 23, 19.

he may cause *the kynges pyte in his besynes to be obteyned and had*  
Ib., 73, 13.  
99, 7 ; 102, 16 ; 133, 6 ; 155, 36 ; 398, 1.

causing *some of them to be taken* More, 346 G.

whiche els he shal cause *to be done unto us himself* Ib., 369 F, etc.

cause *them to be so instructed and furnished* Elyot, 27.

For he caused *the countrayes . . . to be discribed and paynted* Ib., 78.

causinge *them to be taught that lerninge* Ib., 168, etc.

compel : þat he compelle not for his pride *þis suget to putte bihynde þe*  
betre worschipynge of god Wyclif, 33.

- compell *them* by his punysshement to do penaunce Fisher, 40, 35.  
 compellynge *her* to crye Ib., 300, 22 ; 385, 6.
- constrain : & noon obedience schulde constreyne a prest to wittenesse a  
 falschede Wyclif, 36.  
 a pore man þei constreynen to synne bi manas Ib., 63.
- hou schulde þan ony synful wrecche . . . constreyne men to bileue  
 þat he is heuyd of holy chirche? certis þei constreynen men  
 sumtyme to bileue . . . Wyclif, 84 ; 85 ; etc.
- He that hath done his duty and constrayned hymselfe so besyly  
 and many tymes to make satysfaceyon Fisher, 26, 18.
- draw : what thyng drawes hym for to ordayne his will all at goddes will  
 Hampole, 1, 21.
- enforce : They enforced *theyr enemies* to stryke on lande Elyot, 180.
- stir : þe fadir of lesyngis þat stiredre þe heige prestis & pharisees in  
 cristis tyme to pute on hym & his disciplis . . . Wyclif, 27.  
 god almygti stireþ prestis, lordis & comunes to knowe ypocrisie  
 Ib., 140 ; 176 ; 189.
- And that lyght of grace stereth . . . the foules to brynge forth the  
 fruyte of good werkes Fisher, 37, 27.
- stereth the synner to do penaunce Fisher, 159, 16.  
 276, 7 ; 374, 29.
- blind : þe fend blyndiþ ypocritis to excuse hem by feyned contemplatif  
 lif Wyclif, 188.

## (2) Verbs of Advising, etc.

In verbs of *advising, teaching, persuading*, and the like, the causative element is sufficiently prominent, but it is modified by a secondary notion. In Old English *læran* and *tæcan* generally are followed by a direct object in the accusative case and by a clause in which the substantive is repeated, *e. g.*,

*hine lærde, þæt hē sceolde drihten tō dēaðe belæwan* Ælfric, 153, 45.

But the briefer accusative with infinitive construction is sometimes employed.



*læran* : God *ūs* *læreð* *wæccan* Ælfric, 168, 404.

God *ūs* *læreð* *fæstan* and *ælmessan syllan earmum mannum*  
*Ib.*, 168, 108.

*tæcan* : *tæc mē þinne willan tō wyrce* Boeth., 149, 21.

ac Crist sylf and his apostolas *ūs tæhton ægðer tō healdenne*  
Ælfric : *Pentateuch*, 24.

In Middle English, however, the latter construction becomes the more common, soon supplanting the other completely.

*leren* : *þo þe leren þe folc to understonden god noht mid weldede ac*  
*mid wise speche* *Hom.*, II, 93.

and *leren elch man to helpen him seluen þe hwile he mai* *Ib.*, 185.

*ðe lage us lereð to don god* *O. E. Misc.*, 10, 297.

And *some he lered to laboure* *Piers Pl.*, XIX, 231.  
 242; 244.

*learn* (passive infinitive) :

I shalle be your rescowe and *lerne hym to be ruled* as a knyghte  
Malory, 197, 10.

*teach* : Gif he seolf nule don swa swa he *heom techeð to donne*  
*Hom.*, I, 109.

*techen þe folke godes hesne to done* *Ib.*, 139.  
 II, 75; 119.

*Alle men he tauhte to holde treowe luue* *O. E. Misc.*, 38, 45.

And *wisse us and theche*  
*To wyten vs wyþ þan vnwihte* *Ib.*, 72, 3.

how *worschipen þei and techen opere to worchipe* Wyclif, 9.

*wissen* (and *filsten*) :

*wisseþ us to leden ure lif on clenness* *Hom.*, II, 7.

*wisseð hem to understanden wat is uuel* *Ib.*, 39.

*wisse and fulste us swo to folgen his holi eorþliche procession* *Ib.*, 93.

“Holy writt,” quod þat weye, “*wisseth men to suffre*”  
*Piers Pl.*, XI, 374.

*wissen* (passive infinitive) :

*þat wissen vs to be sawed* *Piers Pl.*, XII, 271.

- kennen** : if mon kennes *you hom to knowe* *Gawaine*, 1484.  
 Kenne *me bi somme craft to knowe þe fals* *Piers Pl.*, II, 4.  
 x, 338 ; XIV, 16.
- reden** : readeð *us ant leareð forte geme lutel alle fallinde þing*  
*Hom.*, I, 255.  
 Ic rede ðe *king*, nu her bi-foren,  
*To maken laðes and gaderen coren* *Gen.-Ex.*, 2133.  
*Somme men redde Resoun þo to haue reuthe on þat schrewe*  
*Piers Pl.*, IV, 110 ; x, 266 ; XIII, 442.
- I rede *ye not youre broþer slo* *Curs. Mundi*, 4128.  
 But, after wo, I rede *us to be merie* *C. T.*, A, 3068.
- counsel** : Gif þei counseilen *men to be bysi a-boute worldliche*  
*richessis . . . and conseilen men more to taken vengauce*  
*Wyclif*, 16 ; 17.  
 Conseilled *caym to kullen his brother* *Piers Pl.*, I, 66.  
 IX, 195 ; XV, 337 ; XIX, 195 ; 389.
- advise** : wherfore they aduysed *them in no wyse to meue*  
*Malory*, 175, 13.  
 alway I wolde aduysen *hym nat to detainen the childe to*  
*longe in that tedious labours* *Elyot*, 55.
- munegen** : *Ihadede men he munegeð wel to lerene ilewede men*  
*Hom.*, I, 131.  
 Ah ure drihten þet munegeð *us to fechten te-geines þet alde*  
*neddre* *Ib.*, 155.  
 and muneged *us alle to ben warre þarof* *Ib.*, II, 5.  
 7 ; 9 ; 11 ; 15 ; 39 ; 51 ; 67 ; 139 ; 169 ; 201 ; 215.  
 Ðe mire muneð *us*  
*mete to tilen* *O. E. Misc.*, 9, 273.
- enspiren** : first god enspires þam *to forsake þis worlde* *Hampole*, I, 48.
- conforten** : counforten *hem to don extorcions . . . and to meyntene false*  
*causes* *Wyclif*, 6.  
 for þei conforten *hem to figtte ayenst cristene men in false werris*  
*Ib.*, 176.
- enclynen** : that it ne enclynede *som juge to han pitee or compassioun*  
*Ch. Boeth.*, 136, 261.

glosen : Ye shal eek seen, your fader shal *yow* glose  
*To been a wyf*

*Troilus*, IV, 1471.

### (3) *Verbs of Allowing and Preventing*

#### Old English

- lætan** : hē lēt *hine* swā micles *wealdan* *Gen.*, 253.  
 þonne lēte hē his *hine* lange *wealdan* *Ib.*, 258.  
 And þū, Hunferð, læt ealde lāfe,  
 wrætlic wægsweord, *wīdcūðne* man  
 heard-ecg *habban* *Beow.*, 1488.  
 lætað *hildebord* hēr *onbidian* *Ib.*, 397.  
 1728 ; 1996 ; 2389 ; 2550 ; 3082 ; 3132.  
 læt nū *gefēran* flōtan *ūserne* . . .  
 ond þonne *gebīdan* *beornas* þīne *Andr.*, 397.  
 831 ; 1180 ; 1330.  
 ond forhwȳ se gōða god lāte ænig *yfel* bēon *Boeth.*, 6, 9.  
 26, 6 ; 49, 26 ; 49, 29 ; 67, 0 ; 117, 5 ; 123, 26 ; 136, 9.  
 lēton ealles ðeodscipes *geswincg* þus leotlice *forwurðan* *Chron.*, 139.  
 þā lett hē *sum* þone *here* faren tō heora āgene lande *Chron.*, 216.<sup>1</sup>  
**lætan** (passive infinitive) :  
 þā þonne *hwæpre* hē ne lāteþ na bēon *forholene* æfter dēaþe  
*Greg. Dial.*, 294, 5.  
*quos* tamen post mortem cuius sanctitati fuerint non patitur *celari*  
 hē sette scole, & on ðære hē lēt *cnihtas* *læran* *Bede*, 545, 45.<sup>2</sup>  
**forlætan** : þā *hine* hālig god  
 ēce upp forlēt *edmonne*  
 strēamum *stīgan* stīðferhð cyning *Gen.*, 1404.  
 forlēton eorla *gestrēon*, *eorðan* *healdan*  
 gold on grēote *Beow.*, 3167.  
 þā se beorg tōhlād,  
 eorðscraf egeslic, ond þær in forlēt  
 flōd *fæðmian* *Andr.*, 1587.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see *Juliana*, 200 ; 622 ; *Elene*, 818 ; *Brunnan.*, 60 ; *Maldon*, 7 ; 108 ; 140 ; *Wulfing*, II, 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Wulfing*, II, 192.

oð þæt dryhten forlēt <i>dæg-candelle</i> scīre scīnan	<i>Ib.</i> , 835.
Ðā <i>hine</i> sēo fāemne forlēt æfter þræchwīle þýstra <i>nēosan</i>	<i>Jul.</i> , 553.
Hio on sybbe forlēt <i>sēcan gehwylene</i> āgenne eard	<i>Elene</i> , 598 ; 793.
<i>Holy Rood</i> , 61 ; <i>Father's Advice</i> , 74.	
hē forlēt <i>his here</i> abīdan mid Scottum	<i>Chron.</i> , 5. <sup>1</sup>

### Middle English

After *let* our construction is too common to require citation in the later stages of the language.

leun : leue me <i>vnderstonde</i> þi dol and herteli to <i>felen</i> sum hwat of þe sorhe	<i>Hom.</i> , I, 285.
Ure louerd ihesu crist leue us swo ure synnen to <i>beten</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , II, 59 ; 97.
God leve <i>him werken</i> as he gan devyse	<i>Troilus</i> , III, 56.
þolen : þole us to <i>bi-wepen</i> ure sunne	<i>Hom.</i> , I, 71.
þat tu ne þoledes <i>ham</i> noht fulli <i>fainen</i> of me	<i>Ib.</i> , 277.
ne nalde he nawt þolien þe þeof <i>forte</i> breoken hire	<i>Ib.</i> , 245.
and ne þole me neauer nan oðer þing again þi wille <i>luue</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 285.
þat cold iren þu þoledest in þi syde of þe spere kene to þin herte <i>glyde</i>	<i>O. E. Misc.</i> , 140, 45.
For elles he sal noght thole þam <i>lyefe</i>	<i>Pr. Con.</i> , 4352.
suffer : þis may be said be all þa þat God suffers <i>folow</i> vanytese	<i>Ib.</i> , 1581.
þat God wald suffer þe <i>devel</i> of helle, <i>Apere</i> til hymself þat es of myght mast	<i>Ib.</i> , 2275.
wiþouten childe ofte suffreþ he <i>mon &amp; wommon</i> longe to be	<i>Curs. Mundi</i> , 10325.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see Wülfing, II, 185.

whi schulde þei suffre so grete cost of kechenes and gate housis and  
 wast chambris for lords and ladies and riche men, and a *frere* to  
 haue a chambre for an erl or duk Wyclif, 15.

but certis it is foul ypocrisie þus to suffre *synne regne*  
*Ib.*, 9; 14; 17; 26; 30; 32; 56; etc.

suffer (passive infinitive):

"Loverd, þou suffers here," says he,  
 "Be writen bitter syns ogaynes me" *Pr. Con.*, 5496.

suffren *cristene soules* be stranglid wip woluyis of helle Wyclif, 104.

suffer never *her soules* be forlorne  
 In the brynnyng fyre of hell *Gaw. & Ragn.*, 840.

And wol nat suffren *hem*, by noon assent,  
 Neither to been *y-buried* nor *y-brent* *C. T.*, A, 945.

that he wolde not suffer *her* to be shamed here in this worlde  
*Merlin*, 10.

the voide place of the table, *that* I suffred to be assaide *Ib.*, 71.

why suffrest *me* so longe to be vexed with this trouble Fisher, 13, 16.

neyther to suffre *the shyppes* of his chirche to be so shaken  
*Ib.*, 58, 33; 132, 34; 171, 4; 193, 17; 231, 30;  
 379, 15; 389, 12, etc.

who shal nat suffre, in the childes presence, to be shewed any acte  
 or tache dishonest, or any wanton or unclene worde to be spoken  
*Elyot*, 29.

grant: lord us graunte to dwelle him wip *Curs. Mundi*, 5466.

Ther mighty god yet graunte us see that houre *Troilus*, II, 588.

Wherfore we beseke yow to graunte us to live *Merlin*, 37.

Graunte me good lorde *my soule* to be replete with the  
 fatnes of charyte Fisher, 147, 30.

let (= prevent):

Ageyn vs shal he haue no mygt  
 Or at þe lest holde him stille  
 And lett vs not to do oure wille *Curs. Mundi*, 2234.

God bad hem to wildernes wende  
 Or philistiens wolde wip hem mete  
 And let *hem* for to wende her strete *Ib.*, 6180.



Gif þei maken *prelatis* and lordis . . . to lette *prestis*  
*to preche goddis lawe* and to lette þe *peple* to knowe  
*and to kepe þe comaundementis* of god Wyclif, 5.

Gif þei letten *curatis* and pore *prestis* to *techen* men godis  
 lawe Ib., 9; 23; 50; 57; 73; etc.

but noon of the clerkes ne cowde se the cause that  
 letted *the werke* to holde Merlin, 31.

he wold bren them or any other christen man that he  
 thought myght let *his opinions* to go forwarde Fisher, 345, 5.

let (passive infinitive) :

but þei leuen & dispisen þe gospel & letten *it to be prechid*  
 Wyclif, 70.

þei putten here owen cursed synnes vpon trewe men to lette  
*goddis lawe to be knownen* Wyclif, 138.

But doubtlesse neyther of these may let *vs to be herde*  
 Fisher, 237, 25.

warnen : And he wernede ðis folc *ut-gon* Gen.-Ex., 2966; 3000.

And na thing salle þam warn ne lett,  
*To do þair wille whare-swa it es sett* Pr. Con., 7985.

I maye not warne *peple to speke* of me what it pleaseth hem  
 Malory, 198, 2.

bireven : for no wight may bireve  
*A man to love*, til that him list to leue Troilus, I, 685.

#### (4) Verbs of Commanding

##### Old English

hātan : Metod engla heht,  
*lifes brytta leoht forð cuman* Gen., 121.

Heht þā lifes weard  
 on mereflōde middum *weorðan*  
*hyhtlic heofontimber* Ib., 144.  
 157; 345; 499; 516; 525; 537; 830; 864; 943; 1047; 2039;  
 2504; 2783; 2798; 2867.

Heht þā ymb twā niht *tīrfæstne hæreð*  
*ymbwīcigan werodes bearhtme* Exod., 63; 254.

hēt þā his *sealcas scūfan* þā hyssas Dan., 231; 79; 431.

<i>hāteð hēhenglas hlūdre stefne</i>	
<i>bēman blāwan ofer burga geseotu</i>	<i>Cr. &amp; Sat., 601.</i>
<i>hātað hȳ upp āstandan</i>	<i>Crist, 889 ; 294 ; 1025 ; 1342 ; 1375.</i>
<i>þæt hē healreced hātan wolde</i>	
<i>medo-ærn micel men gewyrcean</i>	<i>Beow., 68.</i>
<i>hēt hine mid þām lācum leode swāse</i>	
<i>sēcean on gesyntum, snūde eft cuman</i>	<i>Ib., 1868.</i>
293 ; 1045 ; 1807 ; 2812.	
<b><i>hātan</i> (passive infinitive) :</b>	
<i>Hēr Offa Myrcena cining hēt Æðelbrihte þæt hēafod ofslēan</i>	
	<i>Chron., 55.</i>
<i>Hē hēt hine þā gebindan ond gebringan on þæt land</i>	<i>Ælfric, 104, 153.</i>
<i>þā hēt hē þysne biscop bēon gelæded</i>	<i>Greg. Dial., 194, 17.</i>
<i>hunc jussit deduci</i>	
<i>þā hēt hē hine hēafde beceorfan</i>	<i>Bede, 478, 3.</i>
<i>hēt hine þā tēon &amp; lādan tō ðām dēofolgylдум</i>	<i>Ib., 477, 17.</i>
<i>ad simulacros eum jussit pertrahi</i>	
<i>hēt ðām ðearfan þæt hors syllan</i>	<i>Ib., 540, 21.</i>
<i>praecepit equum pauperi dari</i>	
<i>&amp; se cýning hī ofslēan hēt</i>	<i>Bede, 584, 28.</i>
<i>atque occidi jussit.</i> <sup>1</sup>	

The verb (*be*)*bēodan* is ordinarily followed by a dative case with a clause or by a dative with an infinitive, *e. g.*,

<i>Swā ic nū bebēode bearnum mīnum,</i>	
<i>þegnum þrȳðfullum, ðæt hie ðē hnāgen</i>	<i>Andr., 1328.</i>
<i>bēodan Hābrahāme mid his eaforum twām</i>	
<i>of eorðscrafe ārest fremman</i>	<i>Ib., 779.<sup>2</sup></i>

But a few times, probably by the analogy of *hātan*, this verb also takes the accusative with infinitive.

<i>Nū ic bebēode bēacen atȳwan,</i>	
<i>wundor geweorðan on wera gemange</i>	<i>Andr., 729.</i>

<sup>1</sup>For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 189, 191.

<sup>2</sup>*Hātan*, also, is occasionally found with a dative and infinitive, *e. g.*, *Gen.*, 1858, 1865, 2223 ; *Dan.*, 126 ; *Metra*, IX, 9.

oð Moyses bebēad  
*eorlas on uhttid ærnum bēnum*  
*folc somnigean, frecan ārīsan,*  
*habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,*  
*beran beorht searo, bæcnum eīgean* *Exod., 215.*

hēt pā & bebēad hrāpe *men swingan & tintregian* ðone  
 godes andettere *Bede, 477, 42.*  
*caedi sanctum dei confessorem a tortoribus praecepit*<sup>1</sup>

**bebēodan** (passive infinitive):  
 ðā bebēad se hiscop *ðysne tō him lādan* *Bede, 615, 1.*  
*hunc ergo adduci praecipit Episcopus*<sup>2</sup>  
 Erconbryht bebēad *dēofolgyld bēon toworpen* *Ib., 531, 2.*  
*ut E. idola destrui praecepit*  
 bebēad *pæt fēowertiglice fæsten healden bēon ær Ēastrum* *Ib., 531, 10.*  
*jejunium Quadraginta dierum observari praecepit.*<sup>3</sup>

*Biddan*, which in Old English receives the same syntactical treatment as *bebēodan*, has *ask, request* for its primary meaning, and will be best considered with that class of verbs. But sometimes, in late Old English, it approaches very closely to the idea of *commanding*, and in this sense it is followed at least once by the accusative with infinitive.

ofsānde se cyng Gōdwine eorl ond bād *hine faran* in tō Cent mid  
 unfriða tō Dofran *Chron., 173.*  
 forbēodan: and hē ne abyhð na ūs, pæt hē ūs ne forbēode ealle  
 unrihtwisnyssa and yfel tō dōnne *Ælfric, 9, 212.*  
 þe ðā hālgan bōceras forbudon tō *seegenne* *Ib., 24, 9.*

## Middle English

**haten**: hehte *hine swiðe stille stolen* vt of hirede & hehte *hine faren*  
 to þon tune *Layamon, 100.*  
 ah god almihtin þe hat *don* þin god on-gein his uuel *Hom., I, 15.*  
 ah þenne þe preost *hine* hat *agefen* þa ehte þon monne  
 þet hit er ahte *Ib., 31; 121; 229; II, 201.*

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see Wülfing, II, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Wülfing, II, 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 188–189.

As þis dragones fogte þus, þe kyngge hette *Merlyn þere*,  
*Fortē segge*, gef he coupe, wat þe tokonyng were *Robt. Glouc.*, 131.

he het *men* to gyue hem mede *Curs. Mundi*, 7121.

Hym, or ysaak myn ayre þe which he higte *me kulle*  
*Piers Pl.*, xvi, 232.

**haten** (passive infinitive) :

Quik he het *his sone take*,  
 And *spoilē him* of clothes nake,  
 And *beten him* with scourges stronge,  
 And afterward *him hegghe an-honge* *Seven Sages*, 499.<sup>1</sup>

In Middle English *biddan* and *bēodan* were completely leveled under the form *bidden*, and the latter verb was followed by the accusative with infinitive much more frequently than were either of the Old English verbs. To this extension of the construction the leveling of the accusative and dative cases must have distinctly contributed :

baed *heom* for *heora wurðscipe*  
*wreken hire teonan* *Layamon*, 104 ; 115 ; 128 ; 132 ; etc.

bed *hine witen* þone forwundede *Mon* *Hom.*, I, 85.

þu biddes *me bihalde* hu þu faht for me *Ib.*, 277 ; 279.

On festing he bit *us us turnen* *Hom.*, II, 63.  
 65 ; 87 ; 139 ; 147 ; 173 ; 211 ; 215.

he bit *us don ure bukes wille* *O. E. Misc.*, 14, 432.  
 43, 227 ; 160, 38 ; 166, 81.

ðo bad god *wurðen stund and stede* *Gen.-Ex.*, 41.

ðo god bad *ben ðe firmament* *Ib.*, 95.  
 120 ; 137 ; 163 ; 787 ; 979 ; 1085 ; 1219 ; 1269 ; 1549 ; 1595 ;  
 2121 ; 2141 ; 2143 ; 2238 ; 2255 ; 2290 ; 2376 ; etc.

**bid** (passive infinitive) :

Bad *hire* ðor wið hir heuod *ben hid* *Gen.-Ex.*, 1193.

He bad *him ben sperd* fast dun  
 And *holden harde* in prisun *Ib.*, 2039.

Ðo bad monophis pharaun  
*wimmen ben set* in euerilc tun *Ib.*, 2569.

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. Weber.*

Do bad ðis king al opelike,  
 In alle burges modilike,  
*Euerilc knape child of ðat kin*  
*ben a-non don ðe flod wið-in* *Ib.*, 2583.

Ghe bad *it ben* to hire brogt *Ib.*, 2605.

þat help may awayle þe saules son  
 For his sake, þat biddes *it be don* *Pr. Con.*, 3662.

**charge**: Gif þei chargen *men* more to *seke* blynde stockys or ymagis  
 and to *offre* to hem more þan to pore bedrede men *Wyclif*, 7.

þes worldly prelatys chargen *men* to *speke* not agenst here pride  
 and coueitise *Wyclif*, 31 ; 57 ; 112, etc.

And þanne he charged *chapmen* to *chasten* her childeren  
*Piers Pl.*, v, 34.

This amorous quene chargeth *her meynce*  
 The nettes *dresse* *L. G. W.*, 1189.

*Command* was often followed by a dative with infinitive or by a dative and a clause in recollection of its customary construction in French. The expression *commander à quelqu'un* is imitated in sentences like the following:

For God *til ilk man* commandes right  
 To *helpe* his neghebur after his myght *Pr. Con.*, 5862.

& þerfore crist comaundid to *alle men* þat þei schulde not bileue  
*Wyclif*, 29.

But the prevailing construction, even in the earliest documents in which the word occurs, is the accusative and infinitive, although very often it is impossible to distinguish this usage from the former when the dative is not marked by a preposition.

þe þridde morn commaundide he  
*A gederyng* of þe lond to *be* *Curs. Mundi*, 4925.

Bremely commaundide he and bad  
*Midweyues* to *be* of þat same lond *Ib.*, 5542 ; 11559.

siþ he comaundid a *man* to *leue* þe beriynge of his fadir and go  
 preche þe gospel *Wyclif*, 31.  
 55 ; 57 ; 79 ; 90 ; 111 ; 158, etc.



- And comanded a constable þat come atte furst  
 To "attache þo tyrauntz" *Piers Pl.*, II, 198.
- And how þe kyng comaunderd constables and seriantz,  
 Falsenesse and his felawship to fettren an to bynden *Ib.*, II, 206.  
 IV, 85; XI, 175; XIX, 358; 361.
- Comaundeth me, how sore that me smerte,  
 To doon al that may lyke un-to your herte *Troilus*, V, 132.
- command (passive infinitive):  
 Putifar comaundide sone  
*Ioseph for to take and done*  
 In kyngis prisoun for to ly *Curs. Mundi*, 4417.
- & in leuyng werkis of mercy where god comaundiþ hem to be don  
 Wyclif, 176.
- The duke comaundeth, schortly for to seyn,  
*His handes hym be-hinde to be bounde* *De Reg. Princ.*, 2626.
- Thus Merlyn, on the Witsonday, chese fifty knyghtes, and  
 comaunded hem to be sette at that table *Merlin*, 60.
- When the kyng herde hem thus sey, he hadde grete merveile,  
 and comaunded hem to be serued *Ib.*, 61.
- We wyll command the gates to be kept aboute *Digby*, 50, 422.
- The physycyen also commaundeth a man to be let blode by a  
 certayne mesure or quantyte *Fisher*, 218, 21.
- statutes & ordynaunces . . . whiche by her offycers she commaunded  
 to be redde *Ib.*, 296, 18.
- whan our sauor commaunded this double trybute to be payed  
 for hymselfe & for Peter *Ib.*, 318, 24; 375, 7.
- he commaunded the bridge to be broken *Elyot*, 178.
- say (= command): Sey him on ðin stede to gon *Gen.-Ex.*, 4114.
- forbid: ðe lage us lerð don god,  
 and forbedeð us sinne *O. E. Misc.*, 10, 297.
- And pharaon stirte up anon  
 And for-bed ðis folc to gon *Gen.-Ex.* 2932.
- Hem þougte kynde him wolde forbede  
 To haue done so cursed a dede *Curs. Mundi*, 1105.
- Dauid seide god hit forbede  
 þe to þenke to do þat dede *Curs. Mundi*, 7723.  
 3203; 4372; 1956; 2830.

**forbid** (passive infinitive) :

his highnes by his proclamacions forbode *any maner english bokes*  
 printed beyonde the sea *to be broughte* into thys realme, or  
*any to be solde*, prynted within this realme More, 343 G.

**defend** : I deffende *yow to speke* ther-of *Merlin*, 54.

**forbear and prohibit** : no more than it were to forbeare or prohibite  
*a man to come* into a faire gardein Elyot, 129.

### (5) *Verbs of Requesting*

This class is represented in Old English by *biddan* and is sometimes found with accusative and infinitive.

bæd him þræcrōfe,  
 þā rincas þæs ræd āhiegan *Gen.*, 2030.

bædon bletsian bearn Israela,  
 eall landesceaft ēcne drihten *Dan.*, 359.

bæd hine āreccan, hwæt seō rûn bude *Dan.*, 542.

bæd gangan forð gōde gefēran *Maldon*, 170.

bæd hāligne helpe gefremman *Andr.*, 1614.

bæd hine þurh mihta scyppend,  
 gif hē his wordewida wealdan meahte,  
 spræce āhebban *Guthlac*, 1131.

bæd him engla weard  
 geopenigean uncūðe wyrd *Elene*, 1101.

bæd hine Cristenne bēon *Bede*, 475, 24.<sup>1</sup>

**biddan** (passive infinitive) :

bæd Scs. Albanus from Gode him wæter seald bēon *Bede*, 478, 25.<sup>2</sup>

In Middle English, it has been pointed out, *biddan* merges with *bēodan* in meaning as well as in form. There are, however, numerous examples in which the primary force of *biddan* is still strong.

And bad hire fader graunt hym þe gode Cordeille *Robt. Glouc.*, 31.

<sup>1</sup> Wülfing, II, 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 188.

- And bed *hire*, for þe loue of God, his wrappe hym *forgeue* *Ib.*, 35.
- beseech** : þo þis castel gare was, Hengist þe *king* bisogte  
*To come to hys castol* *Robt. Glouc.*, 116.
- bisogte þe *knygtes*  
*Telle þe comune þat þere cam a compaignye of his apostoles*  
*Piers Pl.*, xix, 149.
- And *hir* bisoughte on thee to *han* som routhie *Troilus*, i, 769.
- But nathelees, yet gan she *him* biseche . . .  
*For to be war of goosish peples speche* *Ib.*, iii, 582.  
 iv, 725 ; v, 857.
- pray** : þou *him* preye sum word me *sende* *Curs. Mundi*, 1271.
- And preye *him* to do you bote *Ib.*, 4734 ; 4943.
- he preide þe *peple* of his cite to taken þe rentis agen *Wyclif*, 118.
- And preide *cyuile* to se and *symonye* to rede it *Piers Pl.*, ii, 70.
- And preyed *peronelle* her purfyle to lete *Piers Pl.*, v, 26.  
 vi, 199 ; 202 ; xiii, 112 ; xvi, 73.
- It nedeth nought to preye *him* freend to be *Troilus*, ii, 1451.
- pray *him* with us *dyne* *Ib.*, ii, 1458.
- And after this, she may *him* ones preye  
*To ben* good lord *Ib.*, ii, 1657.  
 iii, 124 ; 546 ; 632 ; 718 ; iv, 294 ; 1384 ; v, 305, etc.

Verbs such as *to will, desire, summon* may be considered as stronger verbs of requesting, containing an element of command.

- will** : God hem andswarede "*iosue*  
*Ic wile ben* loder-man after ðe" *Gen.-Ex.*, 4109.
- I wool noon oþere do outrage *Curs. Mundi*, 1972.
- For God wille *men se*, thurgh swilk takens sere,  
 How unstable þis world es here *Pr. Con.*, 1428.
- Monkes and monyals and alle men* of Religioun  
 Her ordre and her reule wil to *han* a certeyne noumbre  
*Piers Pl.*, xix, 262.
- Holi Scripture wole a man to loue al what God wole *him* loue  
*Pecock*, 114.

- my fader of heuen will *it so be* Townley, 369, 82.
- For he sayd that all such lawes be contrary to the gospel,  
which wil *no man to dye* More, 345 H.
- will (passive infinitive) :  
and Cryst will *nathynge be done* bot wele, & with-outen harme  
of othir men Hampole, I, 40.
- Oure lawe he seide þat we in lyue  
Wol furste *oure elder dougter be gyue* Curs. Mundi, 3883.
- God wolde haue *men . . . be stirid* toward religioun Pecock, 523.
- Euery one (sayth he) that worketh wyckednesse doth abhorre  
that lyghte, because they wyll not *their myschieues* therby *to be*  
*knowne* Leland : New Year's Gift, 8.
- desire : Whan the kynge herde hem desire *Vlfyn to be* of here  
counseile Merlin, 83.
- He desyrth *you*, and preyyt on eche party,  
*to fulfill* his commavndment and desyre Digby, 62, 215.
- I desyer *þe redars to be* my frynd Ib., 136, 2143.
- the mother of Achilles desired *Jupiter* importunately *to*  
*incline* his fauour to the parte of the Troyanes Elyot, 48.
- desire (passive infinitive) :  
desyre *a lettre* of supplycacyon *for to be made* dilygently  
Fisher, 73, 12.
- he desyred *the same to be perfourmed* Ib., 136, 3.
- Quintilian, instructyng an oratour, desireth *suche a childe to be*  
*giuen* unto hym Elyot, 51.
- covet (passive infinitive) :  
he coueyteth more *his mercy to be magnifyed* than the power of  
his Iustyce Fisher, 230, 20.
- require : ye requeren *me*  
*To come* ayein Troilus, v, 1600.
- I requere *you sone to helpe* myn hertes desire Merlin, 75.
- exhort : Exhort *tham to be* of gud chere Digby, 220, 1492.
- And therefore scripture in many places exhorteth *vs to seeke* after  
him Fisher, 364, 26.

exhorted *Phtholomee*, kyng of Egipt . . . to haunte and embrace  
histories Elyot, 82.

exhort and call: whiche mekenesse our prophete remembrynge,  
calleth and exhorteth *euery creature to do penauce* Fisher, 38, 15.

clepan: clepede *hem* to shrifte, þat is to reusende and to forleten  
and to beten here sinnes Hom., II, 129.

laþen: þere-fore ure drihten ne laðeð us noht to *beren swiche rode*  
Ib., 207.

þenne he *hine* laðeð to *drinken* more Ib., 213.

## (6) *Verbs of Creating, Choosing, Appointing, etc.*

ordain: For oure lord had ordeyned yete  
*A childe to rise in his ospringe* Curs. Mundi, 1198.

Alswa he ordaynd *man to dwelle*  
And to *lyf* in erthe, in flesshe and felle Pr. Con., 81.

First what it es to fele and se,  
And whar God has ordaynd *it to be* Ib., 3956.

þus ordaynd God þam to *serve* man Ib., 6382.

þoug god of his rigtwisnesse ordeyne þat soule to *abide* þere fourty  
yere or mo Wyclif, 102.

he hadde ordeyned *that childe to haue* his arte and witte Merlin, 14.

that thus hath ordeyned with-oute ende  
*Me* in his blisse euer for to reigne Digby, 146, 190.

If almyghty god had not ordeyned *the tyme* of Antecryste to be  
shorte Fisher, 191, 35.

for whome crystes chirche hath ordeined specially *this psalme* to  
be sayd Ib., 209, 6.

choose: chese yow *soche a man to be* youre kynge and lorde  
Merlin, 96.

here is the man *that* god hath chosen to be youre kynge Ib., 106.

a Lorde, that thus hath appoynted and chosen *you to bee* his  
creature Fisher, 369, 30.

appoint: hath appointed *you to be* a Christian woman, & to be  
partaker of all those graces Fisher, 372, 6.



when it should like him to appoynte *any of them to come* to his  
presence *Ib.*, 375, 11.

who appointed to them *Saul to be* their kynge *Elyot*, 14.

**constitute**: his heuently ministres, *whom*, as the churche affirmeth,  
he hath constituted *to be* in diuers degrees called hierarches  
*Elyot*, 4.

**elect**: dyd nat they by one assent electe *Agamemnon to be* their  
emperour *Ib.*, 16.

**devise**: And thenne hadde she *me* deuysed *to be* kyng in this land  
*and soo to regne* *Malory*, 133, 7.

In Modern English all verbs of express or implied causation are regularly followed by an accusative with infinitive. Detailed illustration is unnecessary. A partial enumeration of the verbs is enough to indicate the wide extent of the locution.

(a) Verbs of pure causation: *bring, cause, compel, constrain, dispose, drive, enable, enforce, force, goad, impel, incite, incline, disincline, lead, oblige, move, prompt, provoke, stimulate, urge.*

(b) Modified verbs of causation: *advise, counsel, embolden, exhort, recommend, teach, warn.*

(c) Verbs of allowing: *authorise, allow, permit*; "he would not permit *it to be acted* in his house," *Spec.*, No. 5; *suffer*: "When men have suffered *their imagination to be long affected* with any idea," *Burke*.

(d) Verbs of commanding: *bid*: "for we bid *this be done*," *Meas. f. Meas.* I, iii, 37; *charge, command, order*: "ordered *his tongue to be cut out*," *Spec.*, No. 23; *enjoin, forbid*: "has forbidden *any such ceremony to be used* in the house," *Spec.*, No. 12.

(e) Verbs of wishing: *desire, like, require, want, wish*: "some of which I could wish entirely *rejected, and the rest to be used* with caution," *Spec.*, No. 44.

(f) Verbs of requesting, persuading, etc: *adjure, ask, beg,*

*beseech, conjure, entice, entreat, importune, induce, invite, persuade, prevail with, prevail upon, request, solicit.*

(*g*) *appoint, choose, elect, etc.*

## B. VERBS OF SENSE PERCEPTION

In discussing the construction of accusative with infinitive in the Indo-Germanic languages, notice was taken of the parallel locution in which some predicate other than an infinitive—an adjective, adverb, participle or prepositional phrase—is employed with the accusative. This locution, which occurs most frequently after verbs of sense and mental perception, is a very important factor in the development of the construction of accusative with infinitive in English. It is obvious that there is no essential syntactical difference between the construction with the infinitive and with the other predicate, and that it is often possible to employ the two locutions interchangeably.<sup>1</sup>

### Old English

(ge)sēon : dæg æresta geseah *deorc sceado*

sweart *swiðrian* geond sīdne grund

*Gen.*, 133.

Wende hine wraðmōd, þær hē þæt wīf geseah

on eorðrice *Euan stondan*

*Ib.*, 547.

gesēo ic him *his englas ymbe hweorfan*

*Ib.*, 669.

772 ; 1320 ; 1820 ; 2087 ; 2403 ; 2577 ; 2777 ; 2877 ; 2926.

sīððan hīe gesāwon of sūðwegum

*fyrd Faraonis forð ongangen*

*Exod.*, 155 ; 471.

<sup>1</sup>Grimberg remarks that the nominal form was the one originally employed as predicate in cases of this kind and that the similar use of the infinitive is of later origin. The transition, he thinks, was supplied by those forms in which a participle was the predicate. When the infinitive *to be* was joined to this participle, the relation between accusative and predicate was made more definite, and the development of this infinitive construction was assisted, moreover, by the analogy of the accusative with infinitive after verbs of causing. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, XXI, 226.

þā geseah ic þā gedriht in gedwolan hweorfan,  
Israhela cyn unriht dōn,  
wommas wyrcean

*Dan.*, 22.

hwæt se bēam bude þe hē blīcan geseah      *Ib.*, 545 ; 553 ; 601 ; 726.

þæt hīe sweetollice gesēon mihten  
þære wlitigan byrig weallas blīcan      *Jud.*, 136.

Sioh nū sylfa þē geond þās sīdan gesceaft  
swylce rodores hrōf rūme geondwlitan      *Crist.*, 59.

Gesēgon hī on hēahþu hlāford stīgan      *Ib.*, 498.  
506 ; 522 ; 554 ; 1249 ; 1292.

mære mǣþþumsweord manige gesāwon  
beforan beorn beran      *Beow.*, 1023.  
1347 ; 1425 ; 1516 ; 1585 ; 1661 ; 2542 ; 2604 ; 2756 ;  
2767 ; 2822 ; 3038 ; 3128.

(ge)sēon (passive infinitive) :

þā of wealle geseah weard Scildinga,  
sē þe holmelifu healdan scolde,  
beran ofer bolcan beorhte randas      *Beow.*, 229.

þūhte mē þæt ic gesāwe syllicre trēow  
on lyft lēdan lēohte bewunden      *Holy Rood*, 4.

þā hē geseah þone hlāf of dūne lētan      *Greg. Dial.*, 99, 9.

cum quadam die submitti panem conspiceret  
forþām hē gesyhp hine sylfne byrnan      *Ib.*, 304, 7.

quia concremari se aspicit  
þy mā þe hī gesēoð ēac þā mid heom blissian      *Ib.*, 311, 12.

qui secum eos laetari conspiciunt  
þā geseah hē Germanes sǣwle . . . fram ænglum bēon borne      *Ib.*, 171, 19 ; 272, 13.

vidit Germani . . . animam . . . in coelum ferri  
þæt hē gesāwe Petrum bēon borene      *Ib.*, 319, 17.  
se etiam Petrum . . . magno ferri pondere religatum . . . vidisse . . .  
swā hī gesēoþ oðra yflu bēon witnode in ēcnesse      *Ib.*, 333, 23.  
quanto in aeternum mala puniri conspiciunt <sup>1</sup>

gesēon (other predicate) :

Geseah þā lifes weard  
drīge stōwe, dugoða hyrde  
wīde ætēowde      *Gen.*, 163.

<sup>1</sup>For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 185–186.

- Bare hīe gesāwon*  
*heora lichaman* *Gen., 783.*
- geseah unrihte eorðan fulle*  
*sīde sēlwongas synnum gehladene*  
*wīdlaum gewemde* *Ib., 1292.*
- Geseah þā swīðmōd cyning, þā hē his sefan ontrēowde*  
*wundor on wīte agangen* *Dan., 269.*
- Gesyhð sorhcearig on his suna būre*  
*wīnsele wēstne, windge reste*  
*reote berofene* *Beow., 2455.*
- syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang*  
*wīndas and wāgas ond wæterbrogan*  
*forhte gewordne for frean ēgesan* *Andr., 455.*
- hreþer innan swearc*  
*hyge hrēowcearig, þæs þe hē his hlāford geseah*  
*ellorfūsne* *Guth., 1025.*
- hē gesāwe þone forbryccedne and gebundenne mid mycelre*  
*byrðene and ofdūne āworpenne in þā sweartestan stōwe*  
*Greg. Dial., 319, 18.*
- Petrus . . . deorsum positum . . . magno ferri pondere*  
*religatum ac depressum vidisse confessus est*
- behealdan** : syllic æfter sunnan setlraðe behēold  
*ofer lēodwerum lige scīnan,*  
*byrnende beam* *Exod., 109.*
- behealdan** (predicate adjective) :  
*þā stōwe behēold*  
*drēama lēase* *Gen., 107.*
- scēawian** : þonne þe hē scēawaþ þā gōðan fremian and weaxan tō  
*Godes wuldre* *Greg. Dial., 206, 26.*
- (ge)hýran** : ic gehýrde hine þīne dāed and word  
*lofan on his leohte and ymb þīn lif sprēcan* *Gen., 507.*
- Ic on þisse byrig bearhtm gehýre,*  
*synnigra cyrm swīðe hlūdne,*  
*ealogāla gylp, yfele sprāce*  
*wēroð under weallum habban* *Ib., 2406.*
- gehýreð cyning mæðlan,*  
*rodera ryhtend sprēcan rēpe word* *Crist, 797.*

- hwilum ic gehēre helle *scealcas*,  
*gnornende cynn grundas mēnan* *Cr. & Sat.*, 133.
- þāra þe of wealle wōp gehýrdon  
 gryrelēoð *galan godes andsacan*  
 sigelēasne sang, sār wānigean  
*hellehorfton* *Beow.*, 785.
- Ic þæt londbūend lēode mīne  
*selerædende secgan* hýrde *Beow.*, 1345.
- ne hýrde ic snotorlīcor  
 on swā geongum fēore *guman þingian* *Ib.*, 1842.
- þā ic Freaware *fletsittende*  
*nemnan* hýrde *Ib.*, 2022.
- Hwæt! wē þæt hýrdon *hæleð eahtian*  
*dēman dædhwate*, þætte in dagum *gelamp* *Jul.*, 1.
- sippan hēo gehýrde *hæleð eahtian* *Ib.*, 609.
- gehýrde hēo hearm *galan helle dēofol* *Ib.*, 629.
- Næfre wē hýrdon *hæleð ænigne*  
 on þysse þēode būtan þec nū þā  
 þegn ōðerne þyslic cýðan  
 ymb swā dýgle wyrd *Elene*, 538.
- Ful oft ic frōde *menn* fyrr gehýrde  
*secgian and swerian* ymb sume wisan *Sol. & Sat.*, 424.
- Hwæt! wē ēac gehýrdon be Iōhanne  
*æglæawe menn æðelo reccan* *Fat. Ap.*, 23.
- sippan þū gehýrde on hliþes ōran  
*galan gēomorne gēac* on bearwe *Husb. Mess.*, 21.
- Hīo gehērdon *stefne* of heofone *clypion tō þære fæmne þus*  
*Ælfric*, 178, 296.
- And mē wæs efne þan gelīcost, þe ic þā eft gehýrde mīnne *hlāford*  
*cēgan* *Ib.*, 206, 380.<sup>1</sup>
- (ge)hýran (passive infinitive):  
 Hēr is gefēred ofer feorne weg  
 æðelinga sum innan ceastre,  
 ellþeodigra, þone ic Andrēas  
*nemnan* hērde *Andr.*, 1173.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 186–187.

- and þis nǣfre  
 þurh ǣniges mannes mūð gehýrdon  
 hæleðum cýðan bûtan hēr nū þā *Elene*, 659.
- Hwæt ! wē ðæt hýrdon þurh hālige bēc  
 hæleðum cýðan *Ib.*, 670, 853.
- Swelce þone mǣran morgensteorran,  
 þe wē ôðre naman ǣfensteorra  
 nemnan hērað *Metra*, iv, 13.
- þā muneces hērdon ðā *horn blāwen* þæt hī blēwen on nihtes  
*Chron.*, 258.
- þæt hālige godspell, þe gē gehýrdon nū *rǣdan* *Ælfric*, 66, 1.
- þā sæde hē, hū hē þis ongæt, and ǣac *hwylce word* hē gehýrde  
 be him *sprecan* in gemētinge þāra āwyrgedra gāsta  
*Greg.*, 190, 17.<sup>1</sup>
- qualiter hoc cognovisset, vel *quae* in conventu malignorum  
 spiritum *de eo* audivisset, indicavit
- gehýran (predicate participle) :  
 gehýrde þone hellesceapan  
 oferswīðedne *Elene*, 957.
- (on)findan : funde þā on bedde blācne *liegan*  
*his goldgifan* gǣstes gēsne,  
 lifes belidenne *Jud.*, 278.
- fand þā þær inne æþelinga *gedriht*  
*swefan* æfter symble *Beow.*, 118.
- sē æt Heorote fand  
*wæccendne* wer wīges *bidan* *Ib.*, 1267.
- op þæt hē fǣringa *fyrge*nþēamas  
 ofer hārne stān *hleonian* funde *Ib.*, 1414 ; 2270 ; 2841 ; 3033.
- þær ic hine finde ferð *stapelian* *Jul.*, 364.
- (on)findan (other predicate) :  
 Hē þā gefērede þurh fēondes cræft  
 oð ðæt hē *Adam* on eorðrice,  
*godes handgesceaft* gearone funde *Gen.*, 453.
- hēo þār þā *gearwe* funde  
*mundbyrd* æt þām mǣran þeodne *Jud.*, 2.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 189, 192.



Hē þā mid þām mǣðmum mǣrne þīoden,  
dryhten sīnne drīorigne fand  
ealdres æt ende

*Beow.*, 2788.

him sēo wēn gelāh,  
syððan mid corðre carcernes duru  
eorre æscherend opene fundon,  
onhliden hamera geweorc, hyrdas dēade

*Andr.*, 1074.

Sume, þā ic funde  
butan godes tacne, gymelease,  
ungeblētsade

*Jul.*, 490.

Symle hȳ Ġuþlāc gearene fundon

*Guth.*, 885.

Hwīlum him tō honda hungre geþrēatað  
flēag fugla cyn, þær hȳ feorhnere  
wītude fundon

*Ib.*, 888.

Fonde þā his mondryhten  
ādhwērigne

*Ib.*, 980.

fond þā hlingendne  
fūsne on forðsīþ frēan unwenne  
gēsthāligne in godes temple

*Ib.*, 1120.

hȳ gesunde æt hām  
findað wītode him wiste and blisse

*Riddles*, XLIV, 7.

hē mæg siððan  
on his rūncofan rihtwisnesse  
findan on ferðe fæste gehȳdde

*Metra*, xxii, 58.

gemētan : Hīe þā æt burhgeate beorn gemitton  
sylfne sittan sunu Arōnes

*Gen.*, 2426.

gif þū þyslicne þegn gemittest  
wunian in wīcum

*Bi Manna Mōde*, 45.

Hīe ðā gemētton mōdes glāwne,  
hāligne hæle, under heolstorlocan  
bīdan beadrūfne

*Andr.*, 143.

oð ðæt hē gemētte be mearcpaðe  
standan strīete nēah stapul ærenne

*Ib.*, 1061.

forðæm hē hine gemētte sittan on gerēnedum scridwæne

*Boeth.*, 61, 18.

þā gemētte hē hine lūtian in ānum scræfe

*Greg.*, 99, 23.

and þā brōðru gecigde tō him, þe hē gemētte þær mid þām  
scinlācan fyre bysmrian

*Ib.*, 124, 9.

**gemētan** (passive infinitive) :

þā gemētte hēo hire hwēte calne bēon nēah gedæledne  
fram hire āgenum suna þearfendum mannum Greg., 68, 22.  
*omne triticum . . . invenit a filio suo pauperibus expensum*

**gemētan** (predicate adjective) :

Ic nāfre þē,  
þēoden lēofesta, þyslicne ær  
gemētte þus mēðne Guth., 986.

**gefēlan** : þā semninga gefēldon hī ān swyn yrnan hider  
and þider betwyh heora fōtum Greg., 236, 1.<sup>1</sup>

### *Middle English*

**see** : hwenne ho isegen hore emcristene wandrede þolie. Hom., I, 157.

þo þe he sah *Martha and marie Magdalene* þo two sustres  
wepen for here broðres deað Ib., II, 147.  
I, 257 ; 259 ; 261 ; II, 115 ; 209.

Peter iseyh þe *Gywes* vre louerd vaste bynde O. E. Misc., 43, 211.

Ye mowen iseo þe world aswynde Ib., 94, 39.

And slep and sag, an soðe drem,  
fro ðe erðe up til heuene bem,  
*A leddre stonden*, and ðor-on  
*Angeles dun-cumen and up-gon* Gen.-Ex., 1605.  
1911 ; 1951 ; 2773 ; 3872.

Louerd when saw we þe haf hunger or thirst  
Or of any herber haf grete brist Pr. Con., 6204.  
611 ; 2644 ; 2906 ; 3778 ; 5145, etc.

whenne þe baronage of egip  
Say him haue suche worship Curs. Mundi, 4627.

I seygh neuere *palmere* with pike ne with scrippe  
*Axen* after hym er til now in þis place Piers Pl., v, 542.

þow shalt see in þi-selue treuthe sitte in þine herte Ib., v, 615.

Resoune I seighe sothly *suen alle bestes* Ib., XI, 326.  
VI, 328 ; X, 362 ; XV, 219 ; XVI, 39 ; XVII, 106, etc.

That knew this worldes transmutacioun,  
As he had seyn *it chaungen* up and down C. T., A, 2839.

Ne at this tale I saugh *no man him greve* Ib., 3859.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples after *findan*, *gemētan* and *gefēlan*, see Wülfing, II, 187, 190.

Whan he saugh so benigne *a creature*  
*Falle* in disese and in misaventure *Ib.*, B, 615  
*Troilus*, I, 628 ; II, 333 ; 574 ; III, 153 ; *L. G. W.*, 978, etc.

see (-ing infinitive) :

Rebecca seide what man is he  
 þat towarde vs comyng I se *Curs. Mundi*, 3356.  
 On þat ladder say be (*sic*) boun  
*Aungels clymyng* vp & doun *Ib.*, 3781.  
 yonder I se *his dougter rachel*  
*Dryuynge* his beestes to þe wel *Ib.*, 3831.  
 I saugh cominge of ladyës *nyntene* *L. G. W.*, B, 283.  
*My body* mote ye seen, within a whyle,  
 Right in the haven of Athenes *fletinge* *Ib.*, 2551.  
 Ther maistow seen *coming* with Palamoun  
*Ligurge* him-self *C. T.*, A, 2128.  
 Yet saugh I *woodnesse laughing* in his rage *C. T.*, A, 2011.  
 Saw I *conquest sittinge* in greet honour *Ib.*, 2028.  
 For sikirly I saugh *him nat stiringe* *Ib.*, 3672.

see (passive infinitive) :

To se *our' dere Children* that be so yong,  
 With these Caytyves thus sodeynly *to be sloyn* *Digby*, 13, 31.  
 To se *hym* that regnyd in blisse . . .  
 Thus *to be slayn* in al giltlesse *Ib.*, 193, 659.  
 this is a dooleful syghte to see *the yonder knyghte so to be*  
*entreted* *Malory*, 146, 1.  
 called hym coward knyghte that he wold for shame of his  
 knyghthode see *a lady soo shamefully be taken awaye* *Ib.*, 296, 18.

see (other predicate) :

hwen þai sehen *me swa wak and swa forhuhande and buhande*  
 toward ham *Hom.*, I, 277.  
 þat seh *tocleue his heorte wið þe speres ord* *Ib.*, 285.  
 and segh þos *twie brodren* in þe se on here shipe *werpinde*  
 ut here fishnet *Ib.*, II, 175.  
 hwanne þu iseye *heouen-king*  
 Of þe *ibore wip-vte* wo *O. E. Misc.*, 51, 495.  
 God sag his *faste fair and good* *Gen.-Ex.*, 127.

- ȝo pharaun sag *is lond al fre* *Ib.*, 3098.  
 Quan he segen ȝis hird *al cumen* *Ib.*, 3222.  
 And kyng Cassibel y sei *so muche folk y-lore,*  
*and adreynt of his fon, glad he was þer fore* *Robt. Glouc.*, 52.  
 He sey þe *emperoure's ost ysprad a boutte wyde* *Ib.*, 55.  
 þo he say *ys felawes ymorþred so viliche* *Ib.*, 126.  
 whenne eiper say *opere naked* *Curs. Mundi*, 799.  
 For bi his cheer he say *him wroop* *Ib.*, 1091.  
 þan may men *his liknes se*  
*Chaunged, als it had never bene he* *Pr. Con.*, 832.  
 þarfor þe world, þat clerkes sees þus *helde* *Ib.*, 1478.  
 For him men demen hoot *that men seen swete* *Troilus*, II, 153.  
 I have eek seyn with teres al *depeynted*  
*Your lettre* *Ib.*, v, 1599.  
 Yet saugh I *brent the shippes hoppesteres;*  
*The hunte strangled with the wilde beres;*  
 The sowe freten the child right in the cradel;  
*The cook y-scalded, for al his longe ladel* *C. T.*, A, 2017.  
 sceawen : and þer wið-inna he him sceawede *gan on ald mon þet*  
 .iiii. deoflen ledden abuten *Hom.*, I, 43.  
 behold : beholdynge *this lyght to shewe forth* *Fisher*, 50, 33.  
 beholdeth *the corrupte mater ren downe from his sores* *Ib.*, 141, 17.  
 whan thou behelde & sawe *that blyssed lorde turne awaye*  
 his face from the *Ib.*, 143, 24.  
 whan he shall beholde *Eneas folowe Sibille in to helle* *Elyot*, 65.  
 beholding *me daunce* *Ib.*, 226.  
 behold (-ing infinitive) :  
 whan we beholde *a man and a woman daunsinge* *Elyot*, 236.  
 to beholde *a personage . . . folowyng in his actis* *Elyot*, 266.  
 behold (passive infinitive) :  
 to beholde *a personage . . . to be resolved in to all vices* *Elyot*, 266.  
 behold (other predicate) :  
 And som other man beholdeth *his conscience defouled with*  
 sinnes *Ch. Boeth.*, 188, 338.

- Beholdinge *his body thus torne & rente* Digby, 176, 146.
- Whan Arthur beheld *the ground so sore bebledde* Malory, 130, 15.
- beholdeth *hymselfe forsaken by his owne defaute* Fisher, 250, 31.
- And therefore when we behold *the Image of the Crucifixe*  
in anye place *set vp* Ib., 398, 17.
- beholdyng *them dayly broken* Elyot, 302.
- espy : she aspyed *an armed knyghte comyng toward the bedde*  
Malory, 249, 12.  
they may espy *vs wauer or stumble* Fisher, 83, 3.
- perceive : whan Ihesu perceyued & behelde *the ryche folkes offre*  
many grete gyftes Fisher, 130, 14.
- and whan they perceyue *a synner leue his synfull waye*  
Ib., 258, 13 ; 266, 10.
- perceyuing therin *to be a perfecte measure* Elyot, 224.
- whan they perceyue or here *any doctrine or vertuose*  
*worde procede from any of their companyons* Elyot, 279.
- And if, moste vertuous prince, I may perceyue *your hyghnes*  
*to be herewith pleased* Ib., cxcihi.
- And finally perceyuing *hym to be of a trew perfite faith,*  
*and his desire to procede of a feruent mind* More, 349, H.
- perceive (-ing infinitive) :  
perceiuinge *the improfitable weedes apperynge* Elyot, 248.
- perceive (other predicate) :  
he perceyueth *hymselfe deceyued by his dreame* Fisher, 78, 12.  
wherto he perceiueth *the childe inclined* Elyot, 56.
- hear : And we iherden *heom heryen* in heore preching  
After ure tunge þen heoueliche kyng O. E. Misc., 56, 671.  
1, 2 ; 56, 667 ; 56, 670.
- He herde *hem murnen* Gen.-Ex., 2053.
- As men may here þer clerkes telle Pr. Con., 983.  
1303 ; 2268 ; 2810 ; 2903 ; 3392 ; 3815 ; 3954 ; 3992, etc.
- heere *her gostly fadris preche & do after hem* Wyclif, 159.
- I have yherde *hiegh men etyng atte table,*  
*Carpen as þei clerkes were of cryste and of his migtes*  
Piers Pl., x, 101 ; Prol., 189 ; xv, 521 ; xx, 229.

## hear (-ing infinitive) :

Whan that she hereth any herde tale,  
Or in the hegges any wight steringe

*Troilus*, III, 1235.

I herde *goinge*, up and doune,  
*Men, hors, houndes, and other thing*

*Bk. of Duch.*, 348.

## hear (passive infinitive) :

But who hering a man, whom he knoweth nat, *to be called*  
a disar

Elyot, 278.

## hear (other predicate) :

Siben shul ye here *hit tolde*

*Curs. Mundi*, 141.

For no man schulde here *goddis lawe tauugt*

Wyclif, 157.

I pray to god, so yeve me sorwe and care,  
If ever, sith I highte Hogge of Ware,  
Herde I a miller bettre y-set a-werk

*C. T.*, A, 4335.

yf thou here ony thyng spoken

Fisher, 80, 30.

find: *pesne mon we funde vorbeoden vre lawe*

*O. E. Misc.*, 46, 325.

Ge schul bi neþe yet y fynde holwe stones tweye,  
And in eyber a dragon þer inne slepe faste

Robt. Glouc., 131.

Freres and faitoures han founde *suche questiouns*  
*To plese with proude men*

*Piers Pl.*, x, 71.

þow shalt fynde *fortune þe faille*

*Ib.*, xi, 28.

fond *hir fro the mete aryse*

*Troilus*, II, 1462.

I fond *him for to haue don* no thing worthi of deeth

*Acta Apos.*, 25, 25.<sup>1</sup>

## find (-ing infinitive) :

þei fond *loth sitting* bi þe gate

*Curs. Mundi*, 2767.

And *figtyng* fonde he *iewes two*

*Ib.*, 5666.

I coom rennonde

On mounte Gelboe & fonde  
*Saul lenyng* on his spere

*Ib.*, 7804.

She fond *hit ded liggyng* her by

*Ibid.*, 8617.

And thou shalt finde *us*, if I may, *sittinge*  
At som windowe, in-to the strete *lokinge*

*Troilus*, II, 1014.

And at the laste *her love* than hath she founde  
*Beting* with his heles on the grounde

*L. G. W.*, 862.

<sup>1</sup> Koch, *Grammar*, II, 114.



- And so bifel, that in the tas they founde . . .  
*Two yonge knights ligging by and by* *C. T., A, 1009.*
- find** (passive infinitive) :  
 Gef alle luper holers were y-serued so,  
 Me schulde fynde þe les *such spouse bruche do* *Robt. Glouc., 26.*
- find** (other predicate) :  
 fint hit *emti* and mid besme clene *swopen* *Hom., II, 87.*  
 gef hie findeð *us slepende* *Ib., 193, 201.*  
 He smot on ðat flod wið ðat wond,  
 Sone anon *blod* men al *it fond* *Gen.-Ex., 2944.*  
 Ful soone he fonde *hit ful grille* *Curs. Mundi, 464.*  
 Vpon þe watir þere he fond  
 A *drenched beest þere fletond* *Ib., 1885.*  
 4024 ; 4163 ; 4563 ; 5043 ; 5743 ; 6829 ; 7716.  
 And þo fonde I þe *frere aferde and flyttinge* bothe *Piers Pl., XI, 62.*
- meet** (present participle) :  
 I met *the kingis sekand a barne* *Townley, 149, 275.*
- read** (passive participle) :  
*This thyng* we rede *done* in an other parable *Fisher, 264, 26.*
- feel** : For whiche him thoughte he felte *his herte blede* *Troilus, I, 502.*  
 That yet fele I *myn herte* for him *wepe* *Ib., II, 567.*  
 But wel he felte aboute his herte *crepe* . . .  
*The crampe* of deeth, to streyne him by the herte *Ib., III, 1069.*  
 III, 1443 ; 1671 ; v, 17 ; *C. T., A, 1220.*
- feel** (infinitive and present participle) :  
 þat he or scho þat es in þis degre, may als wele fele þe *fyre of lyfe*  
*byrnand* in þaire saule, als þou may fele þi *fynger byrn*, if þou  
 putt it in þe *fyre* *Hampole, I, 32.*
- feel** (other predicate) :  
 Wha-swa feles *hym* here *gylty* *Pr. Con., 3374.*  
 whan he felte *hym self soo wounded* *Malory, 350, 5.*  
 reade it at *suche tymes* as you shall feele *your selfe most heauie*  
*and slouthfull* to doe any good worke *Fisher, 351, 13.*  
 when shee felt *hyr selfe tempted* with hyr ghostly enemy.  
*Ib., 414, 32.*

## C. VERBS DENOTING MENTAL ACTION

The dividing line between verbs of sense and mental perception is not one which can be precisely marked. It will be noted that in a number of the citations grouped under *sense perception* the verbs have a derivative force which tends to place them in the other class. The fact that the same verbs assume the two significations naturally involves the extension of the construction in vogue after the primary class to the derivative class. But, further than this, there are in Old English a number of verbs which are not associated with any idea of sensation and which admit after them an accusative with infinitive of a more developed type than any thus far noticed.

*Old English*

gefrignan, gefrīnan, gefricgean : <sup>1</sup>

þā ic aldr gefrægn Elamitarna  
fromne folctogan fyrð gebēodan

*Gen.*, 1960.

þā ic nēðan gefrægn under nihtscuwan  
hæleð tō hilde

*Ib.*, 2060.

2242 ; 2482 ; 2540.

Hwæt ! wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habað  
ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas,  
wræclīco wordriht wera cnēorissum,  
in uprodor ēadigra gehwām  
æfter bealusīðe bōle lifes,  
lifigendra gehwām langsumne ræd,  
hæleðum secgan <sup>2</sup>

*Exod.*, 1.

98 ; 285.

<sup>1</sup> Both *gefrignan* and (*ge*)*hýran* (= *hear of*, i. e., *learn*) take also a pure accusative, even when unaccompanied by an infinitive, e. g.,

Nō ic on niht gefrægn  
under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan  
ne on ēgstrēamun earmran mannon *Beow.*, 575.

Nænigne ic under swegle sētran hýrde *Ib.*, 1197.

<sup>2</sup> The infinitive here is passive : 'we have heard the decrees of Moses to be announced far and near over the mid-earth,' etc.

Gefrægn ic *Hebrēos* ēadge *līfgean*  
 in Hierusalem goldhord *dælan*  
 cýningdōm *habban*, swā him gecynde wæs *Dan.*, 1.  
 57; 459; 739.

þā gēt ic furðor gefregen *fēonda* . . .  
 . . . *ondetan* *Cr. & Sat.*, 225.  
 526.

Gefrægn ic ðā *Holofernus*  
 wīnhātan *wyrcean* georne ond eallum wundrum þrymlic  
*girwan up swāsendo* *Jud.*, 7.  
 246.

Ne wē sōðlice *swyle* ne gefrugnan  
 in ærdagum æfre *gelimpan* *Crist*, 78.

*Fela* ic monna gefrægn mægþum *wealdan* *Widsith*, 10.

Ne gefrægn ic þā mægþe mārān weorode  
 ymb hyra sincgyfan sēl *gebæran* *Beow.*, 1011.  
 1027; 1966; 2484: 2694; 2752; 2773.

Ne gefrægn ic nāfre wurplicor æt wera hilde  
*sixtig sigebeorna sēl gebæran*  
 ne nāfre *swānas* swētne medo sēl *forgyldan* *Finnsb.*, 37.

Ðā ic lungre gefrægn *lēode* tosomne  
 burgwaru *bannan* *Andr.*, 1093.  
 1706.

Hwæt! ic *flitan* gefrægn on fyrndagum  
*mōdglāwe men* middangeardes *rīeswum* *Sol. & Sat.*, 179.

Ic on wincle gefrægn *wæx nāthwæt*  
*þindan ond þunian*, þecene hebban *Riddles*, XLVI, 1.

Ic gefrægn for hæleðum hring *ærendean*,  
 torhtne butan tungan tila *reordian* *Ib.*, XLIX, 1.

gefrignan, gefricgean (other predicate):  
 Hwæt! wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum  
*twelfe* under tunglum *tīrēadige hæleð*,  
 þēodnes þegnas *Andr.*, 1.

syððan hīe gefricgeað *frēan ūserne*  
*ealdorlēasne* *Beow.*, 3002.

hȳran: ne hȳrde ic *guman ā fyrn*  
*ænigne* ær æfre *bringan*  
 ofer sealtne mere sēlran *lāre* *Menologium*, 101.

Ne hȳrde ic sīð ne ær.

on ēgstrēame *idese lādan*  
on merestrēte mægen fægrre

*Elene*, 240.

(lif þē þæt gelimpe on lifdagum,  
þæt ðū gehȳre ymb þæt hālige trēo  
*frōde frignan* ond geflitu *ræran*  
be þām sigebēame

*Ib.*, 441.

**hȳran** (passive infinitive) :

Ne hyrde ic cymlicor *cōol gegyrwan*  
hildewæpnūm ond heaðowædūm

*Beow.*, 38.

**witan** : Ðær ic *seomian* wāt þīnne *sigebrōðor*  
mid þām burgwarum bendum fæstne

*Andr.*, 183.

þær he glædmōd *geonge* wiste  
wīc *weardian*

*Jul.*, 91.

se þe his mondryhten  
līfe belidenne lāst *weardian*  
wiste *wine lēofne*

*Guth.*, 1311.

hwær ic under swegle sēlast wisse  
goldhrodene *cwēn* giefre *bryttian*

*Widsith*, 101.

Ic wāt eardfæstne *ānne standan*

*Riddles*, I, 1.

Hyse cwōm gangan, þær hē hīe wisse  
*standan* in wīnsele

*Ib.*, LV, 1.

Ic wāt *ānfēte* ellen *drēogan*  
wiht on wonge

*Ib.*, LIX, 1.

**witan** (other predicate) :

þā hē hit *geare* wiste  
synnihte *beseald*, sūsle *geinnod*,  
*geondfolen* fȳre ond færcyle,  
rēce ond rēade lēge

*Gen.*, 41.

þær hē wiste *handgeweorc* heofoncyniges  
wiste *forworhte* þā hē ær wlite sealde  
1346 ; 2517 ; 2793.

*Ib.*, 494.

*Ib.*, 857.

wiston him *be sūðan* Sigelwara *land*

*Erod.*, 69.

wiston *drihten*  
*ēne* uppe, *ælmhtigne*

*Dan.*, 194.

on þām drihtenweard *dēopne* wisse  
sefan *sīdne* *geþanc* ond snytro *cræft*

*Ib.*, 535.

wiston gumena gemōt, æþelinges <i>lic</i> eorðærne biþeah	<i>Harr. of Hell</i> , 2.
þæs þe ic þē on þyssum hȳnðum wāt	<i>Body &amp; Soul</i> , 156.
þe him symle wāt æfter ligþræce <i>lif</i> ednūwe	<i>Phoenix</i> , 369.
wāt <i>his iūwine</i> æþelunga bearn eorþan forġiefene	<i>Seafarer</i> , 92.
wiste þām āhlācan tō þām hēahsele hilde geþinged 714 ; 764 ; 1306 ; 1863 ; 2409.	<i>Beow.</i> , 646.
Wāt ic <i>Mathēus</i> þurh mænra hand hrīnan heorudolgum, hēafodmagu searonettum beseted	<i>Andr.</i> , 941.
witon hyra hyht mid drihten 976 ; 1065 ; 1326.	<i>Guth.</i> , 61.
ond mē þæt tō worulde wāt tō helpe	<i>Psalms</i> , LI, 7.
forðon ic hine goodne wāt LVIII, 3 ; CXVIII, 14, 21, 164 ; CXXXI, 18.	<i>Ib.</i> , LIII, 6 ; CV, 1.
Nē wāt ic <i>mec</i> beworhtne wulle flȳsum	<i>Riddles</i> , XXXVI, 3.
ic wāt mīne sāule synnum forwundod	<i>Hymns</i> , I, 3.
cunnan (predicate adjective) : ond ic þīne sōðfæstnysse sweotule cunne	<i>Psalms</i> , CXVIII, 12.
forstandan (predicate adjective) : selfe forstōdon <i>his word onwended</i>	<i>Gen.</i> , 769.
āfandian : ic habbe āfandod þē habban gōde gefēran	<i>Col. ad Puer.</i> <sup>1</sup>
ongitan : bearhtm ongēaton gūðhorn galan	<i>Beow.</i> , 1431.
þæt hē þone grundwong ongitan meahte, wræte giوندwitan	<i>Ib.</i> , 2770.
hē hine sylfne mā ongæt æfweardne āgyltan beforan his fæder ēagum Benedictes se cognovit etiam absentem in Benedictis patris oculis deliquisse	<i>Greg.</i> , 130, 5.

<sup>1</sup> Koch : *Grammar*, II, 112.

and ēac, þæs þe þā wif sēdon, þæt hī ongāton þār mycele  
*mānigo in gān* *Ib.*, 284, 26.  
 atque, ut dicebant, *intransium multitudinem* sentiebant

ðā ongēat hē mid scearpre glēawnysse *hwæthugu wundurlicre*  
 hālignesse on ðære stōwe *bēon* Bede, 533, 42.  
*intellexit aliquid sanctitatis* huic loco *inesse*

gif ðū heofonlic weorud ongēate ofer ūs cuman *Ib.*, 568, 31.  
*si caelestes supervenire coetus cognovisti*

þone sylfan rīm wintra *hine habbende bēon*, oft hē ær his  
 monnum foresēde þæt hē mid onwrignesse his swefnes  
 ongēate *Ib.*, 621, 23.<sup>1</sup>  
*quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum*, ipse jamdudum  
 somnii revelatione edoctus suis praedicere solebat

**ongitan (passive infinitive) :**

ðā ongēat hēo ge on ðām swefne ge on hire mōdes  
 gesyhþe hire ætýwed *bēon* þæt hēo geseah Bede, 596, 6.<sup>2</sup>  
*intellexit vel in somnio vel in visione mentis ostensum*  
 sibi *esse quod viderat*

**ongitan & oncnāwan (passive infinitive) :**

ge ēac *fela ōpera gescreōpa & gesynto . . . hē oncnēow &*  
 ongēat heofonlic him *forgifen bēon* Bede, 592, 22.<sup>2</sup>  
*sed & alia commoda & prospera caelitus sibi fuisse donata intellexit*

**ongitan (other predicate) :**

Hē ongit siððan  
*yfel ond unnēt eall* þæt hē hæfde  
 on his incofan æror lange *Metra*, xxii, 16.

frīne mē syþþan  
 ond mīne stīge ongit *gestaðelode* *Psalms*, cxxxviii, 20.

gemunan : ēac ic gemān *mē sylfne seegan* *Greg.*, 281, 9 ; 283, 1.  
*jam narrasse me meminī (recolo)*

on mīnum swēoran, in ðām ic *mē* gemon gēo *beran*, ðā ic geong  
 wæs, ðā ydlan byrþenne gyldenra sigla Bede, 589, 26.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wulfing, II, 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 188.



**geācsian** : and wē geācsodon *his geceasterwaran bēon godes englas*  
and wē geācsodon þæra engla *gefēran bēon þā gæstas sōðfæstra* and  
fullfremedra manna Wulfstan, 2, 1.<sup>1</sup>

**geleornian** : in ðām ānum hē geleornode moncynne *ingong openian*  
ðæs heofonlican lifes Bede, 620, 39.<sup>2</sup>  
in quo solo didicerat generi humano *patere vitae caelestis*  
introitum

**geleornian** (passive infinitive) :  
worhte ðā cyricean, ðe hē ær gēara iu geleornade ealde Rōmanisce  
weorce *geworhte bēon* Bede, 498, 31.<sup>3</sup>  
ecclesiam *quam ibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam*  
*fuisse* didicerat

**wēnan** : on ðære stōwe wynsumnesse mid ðy ic unc wēnde *ingangende*  
*bēon* Bede, 629, 39.<sup>2</sup>  
in cuius amoenitatem loci cum *nos intraturos sperarem*

**gelyfan** (passive infinitive) :  
ðā æriste hē gelyfde on ānum ðæra restedaga *bēon gewordene*  
Bede, 548, 28.<sup>3</sup>

### *Middle English*

**hear** : Alas sayd syr Launcelot that euer I shold lyue to here *that*  
*moost noble kyng* that maad me knyght thus *to be ouersette* wyth his  
subiecte in his owne royame Malory, 852, 14.

**witen** : And sone he dede it eft agen,  
Al hol and fer he wiste *it sen* <sup>4</sup> *Gen.-Ex.*, 2811.

tho thinges *which that* purviance wot biforn *to comen*  
Ch. *Boeth.*, 198, 91.  
Men wiste never *womman han* the care *Troilus*, v, 20.

not with stonding that thei wisten *these seid bokis not be* of Holi  
Scripture Pecock, 251.

I wille not wete *my lady to be* in no ieopardy Malory, 120, 30.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 190.

<sup>4</sup> He knew it to be.

**witen** (-ing infinitive) :

Eek right so, whan I woot a *thing coming* *Troilus*, iv, 1075.

**witen** (passive infinitive) :

Ghe wiste of water *it boren ben* *Gen.-Ex.*, 2632.

**witen** (other predicate) :

wiste *hire drogen sori* for ȝrist *Gen.-Ex.*, 977.

of ali kinde he wiste *him boren* *Ib.*, 2761.

Maxencius þo he wiste *him come* *Robt. Glouc.*, 86.

He says, "if my fader or moder ware  
In helle, and I wist *þam þare*" *Pr. Con.*, 2845.

And wist *her foos brought* to grounde *Curs. Mundi*, 2534.

I wist not *his wonyng here* *Ib.*, 3800.

Falsenesse is faine of hire for he wote *hire riche* *Piers Pl.*, II, 77.

he wiste *hym moste fell and hasty* *Merlin*, 30.

I wyste *you neuer soo mysauysed* as ye are now *Malory*, 358, 29.

**know** : And knew *coueryng to com* of care *Curs. Mundi*, 3478.

he þat alpha con not seen  
how schulde he knowe *tau to ben* *Ib.*, 12203.

Who knew euer *any kyng* such counsel *to take* *Gawain*, 682.

men þat knowen *þe fredom* of goddis ordynaunce for prestis *to be*  
*þe beste* *Wyclif*, 194.

whanne that god knoweth *anything to be* *Ch. Boeth.*, 204, 176.

whan that god knoweth *any thing to bityde* *Ib.*, 204, 179.

he knoweth *it to be* *Ib.*, 204, 208.

he knowith *me admytte and allowe* the writingis of Doctouris  
*Pecock*, 71.

This childe is right wise that knewe *this to ben* here  
*Merlin*, 37.

**know** (passive infinitive) :

he knoweth and vnderstandeth *hymselfe to be delyuered*  
*Fisher*, 111, 22.

**know** (other predicate) :

*þis wommon* was þe furst man knew  
*Martinid* for loue of crist iesu *Curs. Mundi*, 8923.

- hir qyeynt* abouen the kne  
*naked* the knightes *knewe* *Sir Tristrem*, II, 103.
- "Madame," quod he, "hit is so long agoon  
 That I *yow* knew *so charitable and trewe*" *L. G. W.*, A, 433.
- þe iewes *knewe hemseluen*  
*Gultier* as afor god *Piers Pl.*, XII, 80.
- wenen** : For whenne þou wenest *hit trewest to be* *Curs. Mundi*, 59.
- & wayned *hom to wyne* þe worchip þer-of *Gawaine*, 984.
- And who-so sayth, or weneth *it be*  
 A jape or elles a nycetee *Ch. R. R.*, 11.
- he, *that* thou wenest *be* glorious and renomede *Boeth.*, 161a27.  
 181, 14 ; 188, 251 ; 189, 405 ; 195, 111.
- that is goddes myght,  
 Which *wham* men wene most upryght  
*To stonde*, schal hem overcaste *Conf. Am.*, Prol., 655.
- Thei wene *it be* a Paradys *Ib.*, I, 502.
- This ije opinioun* thei wene *to be groundid*  
 129 ; 149 ; 151. *Pecock*, 6.
- wenen** (other predicate) :  
 weneth *him-selven nedy* *Ch. Boeth.*, 143a25.
- why thou sholdest wene *thy-self a wrecche*  
 144, 83 ; 149, 99. *Ib.*, 144, 85.
- He weneth *no knyght so good* as he *Malory*, 202, 10.
- but he shall wene *it be* the Duke *Merlin*, 76.
- wenen** : Bot mon most I algate mynn *hym to bene* *Gawaine*, 141.
- but if thei meeneden *hem* in that that thei weren  
 preestis *forto be* ouerers to hem to whom thei  
 weren preestis *Pecock*, 425.
- trowen** : *This* I trowe *be* treuthe *Piers Pl.*, I, 143.
- trowe *it be* trewe *Pecock*, 50.
- thou trowist *Artur and Iulius Cesar and Hector to be*  
 quyk in thi clooth *Ib.*, 151.
- trowid *no thing be* better and mygtier and vertuoser  
 than *eche of these spiritis to be* *Ib.*, 244 ; 153.

trowen (passive infinitive) :

as the seide hethen men trowiden the seid *ymagis to haue*  
*be quyke continueli with the seid spiritis whom thei*  
*trowiden to haue be Goddis, therfore tho hethen men*  
*trowiden tho ymagis to haue alwey herd . . . and haue*  
*seen* *Ib.*, 246.

think : holy faders thyne *all synners to be vnder*  
*the power of an euyl spyryte* *Fisher*, 71, 7.

suche as thyne *themselve to haue deserved* more than other  
*Ib.*, 264, 18.

they bee fewe or none *that I can thyne to bee auayleable*  
*Ib.*, 359, 23.

they think *that to be* very seruice of God *More*, 359 C.

think (other predicate) :

þenche gie *æle word of him swete* *Hom.*, 1, 217.

þe ne wilen noht here sinnes forleten ac þincheð *hem swete*  
*Ib.*, 11, 83.

þencheð þis *manne wile boht mid þe almesse* *Ib.*, 11, 157.

As moyses on fer þougth  
 þe *tre brennyng & brent nought* *Curs. Mundi*, 5751.

þai þynk þam-self *vylest* *Hampole*, 1, 17.

Haly men thought þis *lyf bot wast* *Pr. Con.*, 2184.  
 3998 ; 4915

þei þenken *it ynowg to kepe here owene fyndyngis*  
*Wycliff*, 77.

Ye xall nat thyne *your mony spent in wast* *Digby*, 73, 487.

thyntyng *my-self creatur* most veyne *Ib.*, 146, 195.

he thought *hymself as worthi as hym that hym made*  
*Townley*, 23, 19.

And we thought *it well wrought* *Ib.*, 286, 237.

I thought *no man my pere ne to me semblable* *Malory*, 177, 20.

I wold thyne *my selfe good ynough* for them all *Ib.*, 234, 36.

bothe they thoughte *it a passynge fayre swerd* *Ib.*, 289, 28.

euery man thynketh *his owne lady fayrest* *Ib.*, 358, 20 ; 25.

judge : And þoug Iustices iugge *hir to be ioigned with fals*  
*Piers Pl.*, 11, 136.

iuge and diffame ful scherpli weelnyg *alle Cristene*  
*to be ydolatrers* *Pecock*, 149.

they iudge *swete to be sowre & sowre to be swete* . . .  
 and that they iudge *to be the lawe of God* which  
 is but a fals imaginacion More, 359 B-C.

judge (other predicate) :

Sithen Iuwes þat we iugge *Iudas felawes* Piers Pl., ix, 84.

Ne I may nat, for swiche honours, jügen *hem worthy*  
 of reverence Ch. Boeth., 158, 32.

deem : How many men, trowest thou, wolden demen

*hem-self to ben* almost in hevene Ch. Boeth., 145, 116.

And demed *him-self ben* lyk a cokewold C. T., A, 3226.

deem (passive infinitive) :

And thilke thing *that* any wight demeth *to ben desired*  
 Ch. Boeth., 194a18.

*what* resoun deemeth *to be doon* for God Pecock, 223.

deem (other predicate) :

demed *hire unmihti* onont hire seoluen to etstonden wið his  
 Hom., I, 255.

Nu is riht þenne þat we demen *us seolf eauer unmihtie*  
 to werien Ib., 257.

we demen *us seolf eðeliche ant lahe* Ib.

for þenne demeð he *us muche wurð* Ib.

Ne deme ðe nogt *wurði* O, E. Misc., 6, 186.

Also men demen *it a grete charite* to saue . . . Wyclif, 58.

þes prelatiſ demen *heresie alle* þat is agenst here  
 lykyng Ib., 85.

*that* I deme and hold *unworthy* Ch. Boeth., 158, 34.

*the whiche wikked shrewes* wolde I demen aldermost  
*unsely and caitifs* Ib., 181, 55 ; 177, 171 ; 182, 118 ; 187, 208.

Wol deme *it love of freendship* in his minde Troilus, II, 371.

For *him* men deemen *hoot* that men seen swete Ib., II, 1533.

I trowe men wolde deme *it negligence* C. T., A, 1881.

hold : I holde *hit be* a sikenesse

That I have suffred this eight yere Bk. of Duchess, 36.

no Cristen man holdith or trowith *eny godli vertu to be*

in eny ymage Pecock, 153.

## hold (other predicate) :

- hald *hinne þenne swilche mon þe beo bute lage* *Hom.*, I, 17.
- Whar-for I hald *a man noght witty* *Pr. Con.*, 588,
- He prayses ald men and haldes þam *wyse* *Ib.*, 794.
- And *worlisshe riches*, how-swa þai come,  
I hald *noght elles bot filth and fantome* *Ib.*, 1196.  
1094; 1349; 1528; 1609; 1920; 4298.
- And al holicherche holdeth *hem bothe ydampned* *Piers Pl.*, x, 386.  
þat folke helden *me a fole* *Ib.*, xv, 10.
- haldes þam *wretchedest, leste, & lawest* *Hampole*, I, 17.
- holden *hem goode cristen men* *Wyclif*, 25; 86.
- Wemay, man, I hold *the mad* *Townley*, 13, 148.

account: *which name they accounte to be of so*  
*base estymation*

*Elyot*, 99.

wherin they accounted *to be the truest and most*  
*certayne meditation of warres*

*Ib.*, 188.

## (ac)count (other predicate) :

- As *to þe clergyge of cryst counted it but a trufle* *Piers Pl.*, xii, 140.
- I cownte *us shent* *Townley*, 319, 435.
- I compte *me neuer the wers knyght for a falle of sir*  
*Bleoberys* *Malory*, 342, 12.
- thenne I accompte *her trauaille but loste* *Ib.*, 234, 34.
- And *connynge . . . they reiecte, and accounte unworthy*  
*to be in their children* *Elyot*, 112.

consider: more than y se men considere *it so to come*

*Pecock*, 474.

consider (predicate noun) :

ye al *this considered a meetly thyng for vs to desyre*

*Fisher*, 306, 20.

let (= consider, with predicate adjective) :

and for þese þre þing let *hit unleflich* and ne lefde hit  
*noht*

*Hom.*, II, 125.

have (predicate noun) :

for alweyes ye wold haue *me a coward*

*Malory*, 221, 21.



- reckon** : rekeneth *all other* that folowe not theyr  
 opinions *to be* deuyded from the chyrche Fisher, 343, 3.  
 I rekoned *my selfe to be* in most healthe *Ib.*, 362, 18.
- reckon** (other predicate) :  
 reken *myself unable* . . . More, 351 A.  
 I reckon *myself* of duetye depely bounden *Ib.*, 352 A.
- repute** : reputeth *all theym* that folowe not his doctryne  
*to be* deuyded from the chirche catholyke Fisher, 342, 30.  
 they dyd repute *themselves & theyr adherentes* only  
*to be* of the chirche catholyke Fisher, 343, 1.  
 reputing all that *his fiers demeanure to be*, (as it  
 were), a diuine maestie Elyot, 40.
- repute** (predicate noun) :  
 Who wyll nat repute *it a thinge* vayne and  
 scornefull Elyot, 266.
- suppose** : supposyng by here seyde sute *hem to*  
*have taken* of the seyde William. . . Paston, 1, 18.  
 they which do suppose *it so to be called* Elyot, 2.  
 one supposed *felicite to be* onely in lechery *Ib.*, 24.  
 some suppose *it to be* fury and hastines *Ib.*, 37.  
 49 ; 116 ; 124 ; 237 ; 273 ; 278.
- presuppose** : Who euer in his speche . . . presupposith *the same*  
*gouernance to be known* bifore his same speche *and to be known*  
 eer he so ther of spekith Pecock, 23.
- take** : Wherefore alle the men in thilk while taken *a creature to*  
*be* her God Pecock, 199.
- tell** (= reckon, with other predicate) :  
 Swo ben alle oregel men þe telleð *hem seluen heige*  
*Hom.*, 11, 37.  
 Certainly I tell *us shent* Townley, 319, 446.
- comprehend** : as science comprehendeth *it to be* Ch. Boeth., 195, 130.
- conceive** : and no man conceyue *me* in contrarie wise  
*to feelee* Pecock, 90.
- imagine** : ymagine *this frend be* present to us *Ib.*, 269.

- tergates, *that they imagined to falle from heuen* Elyot, 223.
- understand : which wordis many men vndirstonden  
*Crist to haue seid and meened of the sect of*  
 Pharisees Pecock, 529.
- they wepte to see and vnderstande *soo yonge a*  
*knyght to Ieoparde hym self for their ryghte* Malory, 281, 17.
- leuen (= believe, with predicate participle) :  
 I dred nought þat so sore  
 As when I lened and leued *it lost* Piers Pl., XIII, 38.
- believe : whi and wherto schulden we bileuee  
*his seiying to be trewe* Pecock, 351.
- he beleued *them to be goddes frendes* More, 348 D.
- they beleued *it to be trewe* Ib., 349 H.
- feynen : He sal feyn *hym to ryse fra dede* Pr. Con., 4304.
- Gif þei feynen *hem to be men of abstynence* Wyclif, 13.
- feynen (other predicate) :  
 He sal feyn *him ded til mens syght* Pr. Con., 4302.
- Gif þei feynen *hem sotil of fisik and knowynge*  
*of wymmenys complexcion* Wyclif, 10 ; 11 ; 172.
- feyned *hem blynde* Piers Pl., VI, 123.
- But þo þat feynen *hem folis* Piers Pl., x, 38.
- I will to-morowe go to an Abbey, and feyne *me*  
*stronge sike* Merlin, 52.
- pretend : pretending *hem to loue the lawe of God* Pecock, 462.
- record : as ech wijs man can *it recorde to be*  
*trewe* Ib., 249.
- remember : whan we remembre *our selfe to be*  
*tempted* Fisher, 79, 22.
- forget : having forgotten *that copy to remayne in*  
*my hand* More, 1426.
- savor : all true christen nacions haue sauored  
*always those meatis to be good and holsome* More, 359 H.

- trust :** he trusteth to god or euer he come to the  
courte ageyne to be of as grete noblesse as  
euer were ye bothe and *mo men to speke* of his  
noblesse than euer they did yow Malory, 590, 33.
- shall not I trust one time or other *lacke to*  
*suffyse* More, 356 C.
- dread :** he dred *hym self to be shamed* Malory, 218, 5.
- fear :** ferynge the *vengeaunce* of god to fall upon  
them Fisher, 107, 17.
- promise :** He promysed also at his ascencyon the  
*holy ghost to come* Fisher, 108, 25.
- deserve :** *Such a dunt* as þu hatz dalt disserued þu  
habbez  
*To be gederly golden* on nw geres morn Gawaine, 452.

### Modern English

- believe :** but I cannot  
Believe *this crack to be* in my dread mistress W. T., I, ii, 322.  
*whom* I believe to be most strait in virtue Meas. f. Meas., II, i, 9.
- Believing *you to be* an universal encourager of  
liberal arts and sciences Spec., No. 54.
- No complaisance to our court, or to our age,  
can make me believe *nature to be so changed* Burke, 357.
- We must be tainted with a malignity truly  
diabolical, to believe *all the world to be*  
equally wicked and corrupt Ib., 378.
- The necessary approach to our use of the  
salvation offered by the Christian religion  
is to believe *the story of Adam's fall to be*  
historical Arnold, xvii.
- his disciples believed *him to have risen*  
13; 175; Ib., xxxix.
- believe (other predicate) :**  
we did not believe *the reporters* of Jesus *capable*,  
in either case, of rendering Jesus perfectly Arnold, 153.

- conceive** : and of the same do some conceive *our father Adam to have been* Browne, 20.
- whom many conceive to have borrowed his description from More* *Ib.*, 385.  
34 ; 387 ; 445 ; 472.
- conceive** (-ing infinitive) :  
*This sort of incident, again, it is as natural to conceive repeating itself* Arnold, 48.  
101 ; 252 ; 274.
- conceive** (other predicate) :  
*conceiving the heavens an animated body* Browne, 19.  
58 ; 63 ; 72 ; 84 ; 457 ; 481 ; 493.
- I conceive them very sufficient to account for all the phenomena* Burke, 186.
- consider** : I did not consider *things from books to be of so much good to me* Arnold, 169.
- consider** (other predicate) :  
*since the jurisprudence of this country does not consider any person incompetent to manage his own affairs* Bagehot, 65.  
170.
- although we did not consider the ordinances of society binding* Arnold, 133.
- esteem** : since we esteem *this opinion to have some ground in nature* Browne, 62.
- esteem** (predicate adjective) :  
*that which both esteemed affixed and certain* *Ib.*, 66.
- fancy** : might fancy *sailors to be* Bagehot, 233.  
*fancy . . . a seafaring village to be like that* *Ib.*, 233.
- fancy** (-ing infinitive) :  
*I have often fancied one of our old kings standing in person, where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon . . .* *Spec.*, No. 69.
- fancy** (other predicate) :  
*fancies himself out of the world* *Ib.*, 15.  
25 ; 63.

- We fancy *his mind placed* in the light of thought  
Bagehot, 84.
- guess : *These I guess to be* a party of puns  
*Spec.*, 63.
- hold : the greater file of the subject held *the duke*  
*to be wise* *Meas. f. Meas.*, III, ii, 144.
- some hold *it to be* seven heads  
Burke, 139.
- hold (predicate noun) :  
And *Valentine* I'll hold *an enemy* *Two Gent.*, II, vi, 29.
- imagine : as I imagine *it to be* in all respects  
the opposite  
Burke, 160.
- Ugliness* I imagine likewise *to be* consistent  
enough with an idea of the sublime  
*Ib.*, 160.
- men imagine *it to be* adequate  
Arnold, xxxviii.
- who imagines *Moses* or *Isaiah* or *David* or *Paul*  
or *Peter* or *John* *to have written* Bible-books which  
they did not write  
*Ib.*, 12.  
34 ; 78 ; 137 ; 263.
- imagine (-ing infinitive) :  
everything about which he can imagine there *being*  
*the smallest doubt* Arnold, 57.  
210 ; 273 ; 332.
- imagine (other predicate) :  
you imagine *me* too unhurtful *an opposite* *Meas. f. Meas.*, III, ii, 175.
- "*A great poet*," he says, "I should not have  
imagined *myself*"  
Bagehot, 55.
- judge (other predicate) :  
If your honor judge *it meet* *Lear*, I, ii, 297.
- Haply when they have judged *me fast asleep* *Two Gent.*, III, i, 25.
- a stranger to the cause of the appearance, would  
rather judge *us under some consternation* Burke, 84.
- presume (predicate adverb) :  
presuming *therein some cordial relation* Browne, 8.
- reckon : whereof I reckon  
*The casting forth* to crows thy baby daughter  
*To be* or none or little  
*W. T.*, III, ii, 191.

**repute** (predicate adjective) :

That all in England did repute *him dead* *I Hen. IV, V, i, 54.*

**suppose** : by supposing *humour to be a person* *Spec., 35.*

Supposing *you to be a person* of general knowlege *Ib., 41.*

Suppose *one* who had so vitiated his palate . . . *to*  
*be presented* with a bolus of squills *Burke, 68.*  
 73 ; 83 ; 85 ; 96 ; 144 ; 194 ;

We suppose therefore *the reader of Literature and*  
*Dogma to admit the idea* *Arnold, 136.*  
 15 ; 126 ; 150 ; 153 ; 181 ; 227 ; 254 ; 273 ; 338.

**suppose** (-ing infinitive) :

to suppose *him suddenly turning* to the law and its  
 precepts is not natural *Arnold, 319.*

**suppose** (other predicate) :

he supposeth *the root of a tree the head or upper*  
*part thereof* *Browne, 18.*

supposing *the acuteness* of the sense equal *Burke, 74.*  
 122 ; 189 ; 194.

the writer of the Fourth Gospel *whom* we suppose  
*a Jew* *Arnold, 217.*  
 220.

**suspect** : If you meet a thief, you may suspect *him,*  
 by virtue of your office, *to be* no true man *Much Ado, III, iii, 53.*

*which,* notwithstanding, many suspect *to be* but a  
 panic terror *Browne, 46.*

**suspect** (predicate noun) : lest she suspect, as he does,  
*Her children not her husband's* *W. T., II, iii, 107.*

**take** : but he at that time, over-fond of the shepherd's  
 daughter, so then he took *her to be* *W. T., V, ii, 127.*  
*Temp., II, ii, 112 ; Meas. f. Meas., III, ii, 17.*

*which* . . . I take *to be written* by some young  
 Templar *Spec., 8.*  
 20 ; 24 ; 28 ; 58 ; 65 ; 66 ; 67 ; 76 ; 79.

*whose idea* of the line of beauty I take in general  
*to be* extremely just *Burke, 156.*

**think** : I think *your blazon to be* true *Much Ado, III, i, 107.*



- I think *this lady*  
*To be my child Cordelia* *Lear*, IV, vii, 69.
- And *this* we rather think *to be the tree* mentioned  
 in the Canticles Browne, 433.
- he would think *a general mourning to be* in a less  
 degree the same ceremony *Spec.*, 64.
- this difference, *which* I think *to be* apparent Burke, 63.
- I believe no man thinks *a goose to be* more beautiful  
 than a swan *Ib.*, 67.
- beliefs *which* it now thinks *to be* untransformable  
 Arnold, XL.
- They think *the body of laws* now existing *to be*, in  
 the main and in its essence, excellent Bagehot, 19.
- think (other predicate) :  
 May I be bold  
 To think *these spirits?* *Temp.*, IV, i, 119.
- Two Gent.*, I, ii, 24; II, vii, 33; *M. f. M.*, I, i, 22; *Lear*, I, iv,  
 71; II, iv, 238, etc.
- a man . . . would think *himself* but *sixty-one* Browne, 65.  
 460; 495.
- I shall not think *myself obliged* *Spec.*, 4.  
 6; 8; 15; 16; 34; 35; etc.
- This manner* of proceeding I should think very  
*improper* Burke, 57.  
 147; 164; 378; etc.
- which* he was at first disposed to think *identical* with  
 our St. Matthew Arnold, 286; 293; 339.
- every one thinks *himself competent* to think Bagehot, 4.  
 124; 155.
- apprehend (predicate noun) :  
 apprehending *their bodies* too tender *a morsel*  
 for fire Browne, 483.
- compute : I compute *myself to be* two hundredweight *Spec.*, 25.
- know : I know *the gentleman*  
*To be* of worth and worthy estimation *Two Gent.*, II, iv, 55.  
 III, i, 264; *M. f. M.*, III, i, 169; *Much Ado*, III, iii, 57; *W. T.*,  
 IV, iii, 91; V, ii, 38; *I Hen. IV*, I, ii, 195; 205.

- I have known *the shooting of a star spoil a*  
*night's rest* *Spec.*, 7.  
 20 ; 29 ; 33 ; 45 ; 54 ; 77 ; 79.
- when they know and feel *it to be* the effect and  
 pledge of their own importance *Burke*, 369.
- For *metaphysics* we know from the very name  
*to be* the science of things which come after  
 natural things *Arnold*, 50.
- the reputation . . . which we know *him to have* *Ib.*, 170.  
 277 ; 315.
- I know *the present state* of things *to be* consistent  
 with the existence of John Lord Eldon *Bagehot*, 8.  
 144 ; 179 ; 205.
- know (other predicate) :  
 she knows *it cowardice* *Two Gent.*, V, ii, 21.  
*Mer. Wives*, III, iii, 123 ; *W. T.*, II, iii, 184.
- knowing *you a serious student* of the highest arcana  
 of nature *Browne*, 384.
- I have known *a soldier* that has entered a breach,  
*affrighted* at his own shadow *Spec.*, 12 ; 18 ; 44.
- recognize : it will recognize *it to have been* an attempt  
 conservative and an attempt religious *Arnold*, XLI.
- discover : one, *who*, by the shabbiness of his dress  
 . . . I discovered *to be* of that species *Spec.*, 31.
- those who have discovered *the action* of God *to be*  
 impersonal *Arnold*, 31.
- discovered *the nature* of God *to be* impersonal *Ib.*
- find : I find *the brains to weigh* but half a drachm  
*Browne*, 6.  
 7 ; 30 ; 403 ; 420 ; 431 ; 470 ; 471 ; 472.
- when a set of men find *themselves agree* in any  
 particular *Spec.*, 9.  
 14 ; 19 ; 25 ; 32 ; 41 ; 56 ; 63.
- we find *any object to be* beautiful *Burke*, 134.  
 139 ; 382.
- find *themselves to be* out in their reckoning *Arnold*, XIII.

And *this conception* we shall find to stand us in  
good stead *Ib.*, 341.  
xv ; 109 ; 127 ; 192.

find (other predicate):

I find not

*Myself disposed* to sleep *Temp.*, II, i, 201 ; V, i, 98.  
*Mer. Wives*, II, i, 246 ; *M. f. M.*, II, iv, 91 ; IV, iii, 93 ; IV, iii,  
130.

we shall find *it measured* by another number Browne, 52.  
462 ; 471.

I had the misfortune to find *his whole family*  
very much *dejected* *Spec.*, 7.  
29 ; 33 ; 57 ; 58 ; 78.

we have found *them in a state* of much sobriety Burke, 84.  
85 ; 109 ; 117 ; 136 ; 141 ; 155 ; 184 ; 188.

find *the work useful* to them Arnold, xxxi.

man . . . finds *laid down* for himself *no rights* *Ib.*, 8.  
232 ; 323.

mark : By noting of the lady I have mark'd

A thousand blushing *apparitions*  
*To start* into her face, a thousand innocent  
*shames*

In angel whiteness *beat away* those blushes *Much Ado*, I, i, 160.

marking certain *mutations to happen* Browne, 70.

observe : *The brains* of a man Archangelus and

Bauhinus observe *to weigh* four pounds Browne, 6.  
78 ; 428.

how empty I have in this time observed *some*  
*part of the species to be* *Spec.*, 4.  
19 ; 56 ; 75.

*such things as* we have already observed *to be*  
genuine constituents of beauty Burke, 187.

observe (other predicate) :

false protestations *which* I observe *made by*  
glances in publick assemblies *Spec.*, 4.  
41 ; 53 ; 76.

we shall all along observe *the sublime the*  
*concomitant of terror* Burke, 114.

**perceive** : if I perceive *the love come* from her *Much Ado*, II, iii, 234.

Thus we may perceive the custom is more  
ancient than commonly conceived, and  
*these opinions* hereof in all ages, not any  
one disease, *to have been* the occasion of  
this salute and deprecation Browne, 35.

perceiving *the parts* of the human and other  
animal bodies *to be* at once very beautiful,  
and very well adapted to their purposes Burke, 147.

*what* they perceive, or think they perceive, *to be*  
a law of nature Arnold, 80.

Now, an unsubstantial ground of reliance men  
more and more perceive *miracles to be* *Ib.*, 91.

*A French Dante* . . . we at once perceive *to be* a  
mere anomaly Bagehot, 146.

**perceive** (-ing infinitive) :

I perceive a great national *law*, the law of righteousness,  
*ruling* the world Arnold, 101.

**look upon** : we look upon a certain northern Prince's  
*march* . . . *to be* palpably against our good-will  
and liking *Spec.*, 43.  
52 ; 55 ; 61 ; 62.

**feel** : when they know and feel *it to be* the effect and  
pledge of their own importance Burke, 369.

extravagances *which* men versed in practical life  
feel *to be* absurd Arnold, 209.

makes him feel *certain things to be* improbable and  
impossible *Ib.*, 281.

they felt *him to be* a great man Bagehot, 23.

**feel** (-ing infinitive) :

he felt a *gale* of perfumes *breathing* upon him *Spec.*, 56.

**feel** (other predicate) :

It is worth observing how we feel *ourselves affected*  
in reading the characters of Caesar and Cato Burke, 152.

## D. VERBS OF DECLARATION

The accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaration is found in Old English only in translated documents in imitation of the Latin original.

**andettan :** ærðon David andette *hī fram wifum clāne*  
*bēon* Bede, 496, 15.

**cweðan :** on ðām nānig heora of þām þe hī ahton  
*ōwhit his bēon on sundran cwæð* Bede, 489, 15.

**bodian & lāran :** ðā ðe bododan & lārdon *ænne willan*  
& *ān wyrenesse bēon on Drihtne hælende* Bede, 639, 34.  
*qui unam in Domino Salvatore voluntatem atque*  
*operationem dogmatizabant*

**gecýðan :** hē gecýðde *hine sylfne cunnan*, hwylce  
*wæren Godes gestihtunge* Greg., 137, 7.

**secgan :** & hire sægde ealra heora *mōdor Hilde*  
*abbuddisan þā of weorulde geþēoran* & hire  
*gesēondre mid micle leohte* & mid engla  
*ðrēatum tō ðām ēcan leohta heofona rīces*  
*wuldres* & tō gemānan *þāra upplīca*  
*ceasterwarena āstigan* Bede, 596, 10.<sup>1</sup>

*þā secgað hine lybban* Luke, 24, 23.<sup>2</sup>

**secgan (passive infinitive) :**  
*nis þæt wundor tō forswyggienne þæt Herebald*  
*se Cristes ðēow sēde from him, & þæt ēac swylce*  
*bēon geworden on him sylfum* Bede, 618, 27.<sup>3</sup>  
*neque hoc praetereundum silentio, quod famulus*  
*Christi Herebald in seipso ab eo factum solet*  
*narrari miraculum*

**tellan :** ne tellaþ wē *synne wesan gesynsype* Bede, 495, 17.

**gehātan :** gehēt *hine sylfne dēofolgyldum wiþsacan* Bede, 511, 35.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this and preceding examples from Bede, see Wülfing, II, 188.

<sup>2</sup> Koch : *Grammar*, II, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Wülfing, II, 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 188.

The nearest approach to this locution in Old English poetry is found in the employment of an accusative with a predicate adjective after *secgan* in several passages.

ond þone clænan ēac sacerd sōðlice sægdon tōweard	<i>Crist</i> , 136.
ōþer him þās eorþan ealle sægde læne under lyfte	<i>Guthlac</i> , 90.
sægdon hine sundorwīsne	<i>Elene</i> , 588.
gecennan : ic þē ēcne god ænne gecenne	<i>Glaubensbekenntnis</i> , 4.

This construction, either with the infinitive or other predicate, begins to occur more frequently after the thirteenth century.

knowledge : Austin knoulechid him <i>silf</i> hunte out	<i>Pecock</i> , 178.
knowleged hymselfe greuously to haue offended	<i>Fisher</i> , 7, 10.
knowledge, <i>inacwen</i> (other predicate) :	
ich icnowe me gulti	<i>Hom.</i> , I, 205.
knewleched hym gulty	<i>Piers Pl.</i> , XII, 193.
he knoledged himself worthy to be hanged	<i>More</i> , 346 G.
Dauyd was in wyll for to knowlege hymselfe gyltye	<i>Fisher</i> , 6, 30 ; 33, 18 ; 163, 27 ; 215, 31.
knowleged hymselfe a greuous synner	<i>Ib.</i> , 131, 36.
144, 23 ; 162, 4.	
confess : whan he dyd confesse <i>cryst Iesu</i> to be the sone of god	<i>Fisher</i> , 320, 14.
confess (predicate adjective):	
my-selff right nought than I confesse	<i>Digby</i> , 146, 201.
call (= declare): git say I more forsoþe here Of abraham whiche ye calle For to be youre fadir alle	<i>Curs. Mundi</i> , 12150.
thei callen it to be werk of the feend	<i>Pecock</i> , 476.



- clepe** : but gif þei clepen be contrarie name þe  
*deuelis chirche to be holy chirche* Wyclif, 61.
- If thou clepist oonli *thilk vertu to be a godli*  
*vertu* Pecock, 153.
- he clepith and seith *Thymothie to be such a*  
*bisshop* *Ib.*, 446.
- tell** : *size thingis* tellith Crist *to come in his pas-*  
*soun* Wyclif,<sup>1</sup>.
- say** : he seith *his apostlis to be hise frendis* *Ib.*
- neither eny creature ougte seie *him to haue a*  
*propre Euangelie* Pecock, 61.
- If thou seie the now rehercid *opynyoun of the*  
*seid clerk to be groundid here on this* *Ib.*, 414.
- declare** : Dynys declarith openli *a bisshop to be*  
*aboue othere longer preestis* Pecock, 446.
- he shall declare *them to be of all men mooste*  
*fortunate* Elyot, 38.
- declareth *to be in them these qualities or diuersities* *Ib.*, 289.
- declare** (predicate participle) :  
*whiche I shall declare*  
 to the *apportrid by moralite* Digby, 20, 487.
- allege** : alleggith *Holi Scripture to be worthier*  
*than is the doom of resoun* Pecock, 81.
- pronounce** (predicate adjective) :  
 whi schulde curatis pronounsens *here breperen*  
*a cursed* Wyclif, 35.
- gif a preste pronounce sicke *a man a cursed* *Ib.*, 36.
- preyse** (predicate adjective) :  
 Ac charite þat poule preyseth *best and most*  
*plesaunte to owre saueoure* *Piers Pl.*, xv, 152.
- avaunt** : what or wherto avauntede ye me to ben  
*weleful* Ch. *Boeth.*, 130, 34.

<sup>1</sup>Schmidt: *Language of Pecock*, 119.

- their maister wyll perchance auaunte *hym selfe*  
to be a good philosopher Elyot, 167.
- whome he aduaunted to be his father *Ib.*, 222.
- prove: who euer can proue *him self* to be noon  
such as *y* haue here now spoken of Pecock, 88.
- for ellis there were no wey to proue bi it *eny*  
*thing be trewe* *Ib.*, 373.
- And no scripture can there proue the very  
trewe *church* to hold an article as trew faith More, 355 D.
- prove (other predicate):  
& bi pis false lawe þei may proue *heretikis whom*  
*euere þei wolen* Wyclif, 75.
- proue *eche kyng* in cristendom forsworn & no  
*kyng* *Ib.*
- who that preued *hym the best knyght* Malory, 147, 15.
- warante: "Who is ther  
That knokketh so? I warante *it a theef*" C. T., A, 3791.
- show: he therbi schewith weel *him to be noon* of  
hem Pecock, 88.  
153; 239; 403.
- wherby he may shewe *his wretchednes to be grete* &  
ouerheped Fisher, 74, 24.  
102, 31; 136, 5.
- to shewe *him selfe to be weary* Elyot, 41.
- show (other predicate):  
shewynge *themselfe culpable* Fisher, 153, 14.  
226, 21; 253, 25.
- he shewed *himself* so repentaunt More, 346 H.
- shewed *themselues* open incestuouse harloties *Ib.*, 359 B.
- cleyme (= proclaim):  
also he cleymyd *hym-sylf son* of þe godhed Digby, 105, 1321.
- proclaim: proclaymynge *hymselfe synfull & vnkynde*  
Fisher, 236, 16.
- assent: and I assent, right as ye say,  
*Some preuay poynt to be puruayed* Townley, 206, 71.

**affirm** : Johne Waters, that namyth hym self Paston,  
and affermith *hym* untrewely *to be* my cousyn *Paston*, I, 19.

What euer deede or thing Holi Scripture of the  
Oold Testament tellith or affermeth *God haue*  
*do* Pecoock, 525.

*whiche* Plato affirmeth *to be* the firste and chiefe  
parte of a publyke weale Elyot, cxcii.

*which* these fonde felowes affirme now *to be* bitter  
and perilous meate . . . *such as* now these  
mad men affirm *to be* well seasoned and good More, 360 A.

for *faith* his felowes and he affirme *to bee* that  
thing which onely doth iustify us *Ib.*, 363 C.

**describe** : But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth  
*an oratour to be* of more excellent qualities Elyot, 117.

**conclude** : concludeth nat *daunsinge to be* at all  
tymes and in euery maner unlafulfull Elyot, 209.

**define** : prudence, *whom* Tulli defineth *to be* the  
knowlege of thinges *whiche* ougte to be  
desired and folowed Elyot, 239.

Pecoock also employs the construction after *assigne* (209; 472), *conferme* (147; 528), *defende* (123), *denounce* (112), *denye* (509), *diffame* (149), *expresse* (305), *graunte* (246), *obiecte* (50), *prophesie* (234), *storie* (299), *teche* (248), *wijte* (155), *witnesse* (526).

### Modern English

**acknowledge** : But Nineveh, *which* authors  
acknowledge *to have exceeded* Babylon Browne, 399.

they acknowledged *their bodies to be* the lodging  
of Christ *Ib.*, 481.

**acknowledge** (predicate adjective):  
*this thing of* darkness I  
Acknowledge *mine* *Temp.*, V, i, 276.

*whom* nature is ashamed  
Almost to acknowledge *hers* *Lear*, I, i, 216.

- admit : admitting *an equal number* of rays, or an  
equal number of luminous particles *to strike*  
the eye Burke, 176.
- to admit *nothing to be true* Arnold, 51 ; 226.
- which* our readers will admit *to be* an appoint-  
ment of Providence Bagehot, 52 ; 177.
- affirm : who affirms *this peculiar vessel to be* an  
artery Browne, 8 ; 63.
- affirm *God to be* a person Arnold, 84.
- affirm *God to be* either the one or the other *Ib.*
- that belief in witchcraft *which* in the century  
previous a man like Sir Matthew Hale could  
affirm *to have* the authority of Scripture *Ib.*, 36.
- allow : *which* stricter botanology will hardly allow  
*to be* camphire Browne, 433.
- I allow *a beauty to be* as much to be commended *Spec.*, 4 ; 65.
- allowing *all* that has been said on this subject  
*to be* sufficiently proved Burke, 168 ; 183.
- Suppose that we allow *him to have had* not one  
whit more bent than other people Arnold, 123 ; 180.
- approve (predicate noun) :  
which approves *him an intelligent party* to the  
advantages of France *Lear*, III, v, 12.
- assert : we do not assert *God to be* a thing  
50 ; 56 ; 84 ; 91. Arnold, 31.
- assume : *which* theologians in general assume *to*  
*be* the meaning Arnold, 24 ; 197.
- betray : which . . . betrays *itself to be* a modern  
composition *Spec.*, 62.
- boast : and boasts *himself*  
*To have* a worthy feeding *W. T.*, IV, iv, 168.
- conclude : I conclude *myself to be* hungry *Spec.*, 25 ; 35 ; 62.
- you must conclude *her not to be* beautiful Burke, 140.
- conclude (predicate adjective) :  
concludes *the story fabulous* Browne, 44.

**confess** : *Which* he confesseth *to be* manifold *I Hen. IV, IV, iii, 47.*

so doth Eucharius confess *it to be* the emblem of  
Christ Browne, 88.

*all* that we say about the Bible we confess *to be*  
a failure Arnold, 10.

**confesse** (predicate participle) :

we have to confess *ourselves* fairly *puzzled and*  
*beaten* Arnold, 61.

**confirm** (predicate phrase) :

nor will inspection confirm *a peculiar vessel in*  
*this finger* Browne, 10.

**(ac)count** (other predicate) :

The philosopher accounts *that east* from whence  
the heavens begin their motion Browne, 21.  
51 ; 60 ; 65.

Byron counted *the critic and poet equal* Bagehot, 202.

**declare** : declared *the owners* of it *to be* altogether  
untainted *Spec.*, 9.

by declaring *him to be* without body Arnold, 74.

**declare** (other predicate) :

declaring *in his death somewhat* above humanity Browne, 61.

of whom I must declare *myself an admirer* *Spec.*, 13.

**define** : if we define *sitting to be* a firmation of the  
body Browne, 2.

I shall here define *it to be* a conceit *Spec.*, 62.

**demonstrate** : *which* we could demonstrate *to be*  
beautiful Burke, 135.

**describe** ; *whose tenderness* Busy describes *to be* very  
beautiful *Spec.*, 65.

**discover** : which must discover *the writer to be* a  
man of sense *Spec.*, 35.

**give out** (predicate participle) :

*which*, but three glasses since, we gave out *split* *Temp.*, V, i, 223.

- grant** : though we grant *it to be measured* by sevens  
Browne, 52.
- although we may grant *every logion* in the series  
to be in itself authentic Arnold, 297.
- have** : Nabuchodonosor (*whom some will have to*  
*be the famous Syrian king of Diodorus*) Browne, 386.  
439 ; 478 ; 489.
- have** (other predicate) :  
since some will have *them emeralds* Browne, 400 ; 464.
- justify** (predicate noun) :  
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you  
And justify *you traitors* Temp., V, i, 128.
- maintain** : but I will maintain *the word* with my  
sword to be a soldier-like word II Hen. IV, III, ii, 82.
- I have heard him oft maintain *it to be fit* Lear, I, ii, 77.
- and *this* my worthy predecessor . . . always  
maintained to be no more than the true oval  
proportion Spec., 52.
- the fundamental theme* of Jesus, we maintain to  
be no " arid mysticism " at all Arnold, 284.
- mark** (predicate adjective) :  
These signs have mark'd *me extraordinary* I Hen. IV, III, i, 41.
- proclaim** : and many other evidences proclaim *her*  
to be with all certainty the king's daughter W. T., V, ii, 42.
- profess** : so we profess  
*Ourselves to be* the slaves of chance W. T., IV, iv, 550.
- profess** (other predicate) :  
that I profess  
*Myself an enemy* to all other joys Lear, I, i, 74.
- profess *myself* . . . *your ever faithful friend* Browne, 453.
- pronounce** : whether it pronounce *the attempt*  
here made to be of solid worth or not Arnold, xli.  
75 ; 139 ; 231 ; 271.
- Goethe . . . pronounced *Beranger to have* " a  
nature most happily endowed " Bagehot, 156.



**pronounce (other predicate):**

- I hate thee,  
 Pronounce *thee* a gross lout, a mindless slave      *W. T.*, I, ii, 301.  
 you may pronounce *it* true      *Spec.*, 62.  
 those who pronounce *them* vain      Arnold, 2.  
 31 ; 143.

**prove** : proves *this to be* the Evangelist's main point      Arnold, 202 ; 227.

**prove (other predicate) :**

- this proves *me* still a sheep      *Two Gent.*, I, i, 82.  
*M. f. M.*, IV, ii, 40 ; *I Hen. IV*, I, iii, 95.

**report** : a notable lubber as thou reportest *him to be*

*Two Gent.*, II, v, 47.

And was the duke a fishmonger, a fool, a coward, as you then reported *him to be*      *Meas. f. Meas.*, V, i, 336.

the very words our Gospels report *him to have said*      Arnold, 264.

**represent (predicate adjective) :**

after he has represented *Cimon* so stupid      *Spec.*, 77.

**say (predicate participle) :**

I should say *myself* offended      *Ant. & Cleop.*, II, i, 32.

**show** : A little thought will shew *this to be* impossible      Burke, 167.

an explanation *which* the whole account we have of Jesus shows *to be* idle      Arnold, 263 ; 300.

**show (other predicate):**

His little speaking shows *his love but small*      *Two Gent.*, I, ii, 29.  
*Mer. Wives*, II, iii, 56 ; *Lear*, III, iv, 36.

**subscribe (predicate noun):**

I will subscribe *him* a coward      *Much Ado*, V, ii, 59.

**swear (predicate noun):**

I'll swear *myself* thy subject      *Temp.*, II, ii, 155.

## E. SUMMARY

From the very earliest times English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, employed, after certain verbs of express or implied causation (*lūtan*, *forlētan*, *hūtan*, *biddan*), an accusative with an infinitive. In some cases, as after *hūtan* and *biddan*, the two elements were apparently felt as separate objects of the main verb, though they were loosely united by the logical relation of subject and predicate. But after verbs of direct causation it is impossible thus to analyze the component parts of the locution. In a sentence like "he caused *him to work*," *him* cannot be construed as independently the object of *caused* but must be considered as associated with the infinitive and forming with it a single objective conception dependent on the verb of the main clause. The tendency to dissociate the accusative from the main verb and to attach it to the infinitive is even stronger in those instances in which the latter element has a passive force. In "he ordered *the army to be sent*," *army* is manifestly not the direct object of the command, but rather *the sending of the army*. In later Old English the construction of accusative with infinitive spread to verbs of this group which earlier were construed with a clause only or with an accusative and a clause. Verbs like *bēodan*, *dōn*, *macian*, *tēcan* and *lēran*, though found very rarely with an accusative and infinitive in late Old English, began to employ the construction more and more frequently in early Middle English, and by the opening of the fourteenth century that was the prevailing locution and practically the only one employed. New words, introduced from the French or Latin, very soon adopted the native construction. The verb *command*, for instance, as has been pointed out, was for a time employed in accordance with both the French and English idioms. The French construction, that

of a personal object introduced by the preposition *to* and followed by an infinitive or a clause, was used alongside the English accusative with infinitive, but the latter locution before long completely replaced the other. In Middle English the periphrastic form of the passive infinitive is employed in original literature side by side with the active form, so that there is no doubt as to the nature of the construction intended.

With verbs of sense perception, even when the infinitive is active, the accusative is to be taken as more closely connected with the main verb than with the infinitive. The relationship here is the same as that described in causative verbs with a passive infinitive. It is, in brief, impossible mentally to dissociate the two elements, accusative and infinitive: they express a single conception. When I say "he sees *a man walking*," I do not mean that he sees *a man* or that he sees *walking*, but only that he sees *a walking man*. This construction is regular in all periods of the English language with verbs expressing an immediate sense perception, and therefore requires no extensive comment.

From verbs of sense perception to those of mental perception the transition is an easy one, since the same verbs often have both functions. In its use with verbs of mental perception the accusative with infinitive possesses a degree of development scarcely differing from that found in Greek and Latin. The closer association which is felt between the accusative and the infinitive after such verbs arises, probably, from the fact that many of them do not admit a personal object in the accusative case if no predicate is associated with the latter. But a direct neuter object is possible with any of these verbs, and this fact renders their inherent transitive force sufficiently obvious. The point is illustrated in Old English by *gefrignan* and *gehyran*, meaning *to learn about*. The former verb in particular is followed by the accusative with infinitive much

more frequently than any other verb of mental perception, but it occurs only sporadically with a pure accusative. The fact that it occurs so at all, however, is evidence sufficient to indicate that the accusative in our construction is due to its original employment as the object of the main verb and not to its use as the subject of the infinitive.

After verbs of declaration the early language, in its original literature, shows only the faintest beginnings of the construction in the form of an accusative followed by a predicate noun, adjective, or participle. The importance of the use of the latter forms as predicates is fundamental in the development of the accusative with infinitive. The frequency with which these predicate forms occur in Old English after verbs of mental perception, and their employment after verbs of declaration previous to any similar use of the infinitive, may be treated as a confirmation of the view that they preceded the accusative with infinitive in time, and, in fact, afforded the model by analogy to which the latter construction was more fully developed. The relation between the accusative and the predicate, whatever form that predicate may take,—whether infinitive, substantive, adjective, or participle—is the same. The practical identity of the two locutions is illustrated by the fact that it is possible to convert every non-infinitive predicate into an infinitive by the introduction of the copula *to be*.

The question of Latin influence in this period can be disposed of without difficulty. As is manifest from the Bede citations, the translator on a number of occasions imitates the Latin construction in rendering an accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental perception and declaration. But very seldom does he do violence to the English idiom in so translating. He refrains from imitating the construction after neuter and impersonal verbs, confining his translation within the same limitations that bound the native locution. That it should be found more frequently in

translations than in original works is to be expected from the extensive use of this construction in Latin; and it is not surprising to find sporadical examples bearing the distinct stamp of foreign importation. But in expanding the great mass of Latin accusatives and infinitives into English clauses, the translator has shown that his feeling for the native idiom has not been corrupted by the foreign language. Since Latin exerted so slight an influence on Old English translations, it may readily be inferred that it had no effect at all on original literature or spoken language.

It has already been remarked that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries our construction became regular after verbs of causation, and that with verbs of sense perception it already had been so in Old English. After verbs of mental perception and declaration, also, its use became wider in Middle English. Every document examined (dating after 1250) affords some examples of an accusative with a predicate after verbs belonging to the latter groups. Though there are great discrepancies in the extent to which the construction is employed, even by contemporary writers, there is, in general, a marked progression in successive periods. It is employed with greater frequency by Wyclif than by other writers of his time, owing, it may be, to his somewhat more Latinized vocabulary. When verbs which in Latin were customarily used in conjunction with an accusative and infinitive were taken over into English, it was found natural to associate them with the same locution in the latter language. This is an element of Latin influence which ought to be conceded, and it accounts for the extensive use of the construction by Pecock in the fifteenth century.

But the position of Pecock with reference to the history of the accusative with infinitive in English has not been rightly estimated. There is in all his work scarcely a single example of its use after verbs of mental perception which



is without some earlier parallel. His usage after verbs of declaration is rather more eccentric, and it cannot be denied that on the whole he employs the accusative with infinitive more extensively than any preceding writer, or, indeed, than any succeeding one. But the difference is only one of degree, and we must take into consideration the fact that Pecoock's vocabulary is saturated with Latin words, that he is writing a controversial treatise, almost every page of which bristles with verbs of mental perception and declaration which afford him endless opportunities for the use of the construction, and that he employs this construction much less frequently than the *that* clause, and apparently only for the sake of varying the latter. To draw an inference as to the uniqueness of Pecoock's usage by contrasting it with that of Malory or the "Merlin" romance seems eminently unfair. If we were to compare a volume of Matthew Arnold with a romance of Bulwer-Lytton's, let us say, the disparity in their usage with regard to this construction would be found not a whit less striking. A work of pure narrative fiction, written in a popular style, does not give the same occasion for the use of the accusative with infinitive as does a more formal and technical work, especially if the latter be of an argumentative character. The statement quoted at the head of this chapter, moreover, to the effect that not a single example of the construction exists in "Merlin," Malory or Caxton, is obviously unwarranted. Even a very fragmentary examination of the works in question was sufficient to reveal its inaccuracy.

This supposed absence of our locution from all English literature between the age of Pecoock and that of Fisher, More, and Elyot inspired the other assertion: that it took a full century for the example set by Pecoock to bear fruit. There is certainly no more justification for saying that Fisher and Elyot imitate Pecoock than there would be for declaring that they imitate the Latin. It is indeed more



probable that their native feeling for the construction was colored by their familiarity with the classical languages. But with them too the subject matter is partly responsible for their usage, which, again, is not startlingly different from that of the fourteenth century, but simply represents another stage in the development of the native locution.

The usage at the end of the sixteenth century, as represented in the works of Shakespeare, may be taken as the norm of modern usage. By putting together the occurrences in all the thirty-seven plays, it is possible to collect a number of examples which gives a disproportionate idea of the actual extent of the construction. In scarcely any play does Shakespeare employ it after verbs of mental perception and declaration more than half a dozen times, but he does use it after a great variety of verbs. In later writers the construction differs in extent as considerably as among the earlier ones, but the reasons for this variation it is difficult to assign. Thus the number of examples found in the "Spectator" or in Matthew Arnold far exceeds those found in an equal amount of the prose of Dr. Johnson or Walter Bagehot.

Our final conclusion, therefore, is that the accusative with infinitive existed to a considerable extent in the very oldest English, and that the language possessed at hand all the elements necessary to a further development. This development was actually taking place in early Middle English without the assistance of foreign influence, at a time when other Germanic dialects, whose literature was as much dominated by Latin as was that of England, were rapidly losing the construction. This native tendency, however, was probably stimulated by the great stream of Latin verbs which flowed into the English language between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONSTRUCTION WITH NEUTER AND IMPERSONAL VERBS

No wonder is a lewed man to ruste  
C. T., A, 502.

The Middle English construction of a substantive with infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs bears a striking resemblance to the accusative and infinitive which Latin employs with such verbs, and hence all the accounts of the origin and development of this locution in English have been strongly colored by preconceptions based on Latin syntax. This criticism does not, indeed, apply very strictly to the description of it given by Professor Jespersen. Grouping the locution with a number of others, not very closely allied to it, he considers it as a "peculiar form of anacoluthia (*sic*)"<sup>1</sup> and tentatively adopts for it the term "unconnected subject." "Sometimes," remarks Jespersen, "the phenomenon . . . of an unconnected subject with an infinitive, corresponds very nearly to the Latin accusative with the infinitive, only the nominative is used."<sup>2</sup>

According to Einkenkel<sup>3</sup> the origin of the construction is to be sought in the Middle English use of the infinitive as subject of an impersonal verb, when that verb was also followed by a dative case of the person. The loss of inflections tended to obscure the form of the substantive, and, the construction having thus grown somewhat vague, its interpretation was determined by the existence in Latin of a similar construction, the substance of which was in

<sup>1</sup> *Progress in Language*, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Streifzüge durch die mittenglische Syntax*, 247 ff.

the accusative case. Einkenkel feels quite convinced that the substantive is felt as an accusative in English, for Chaucer affords several examples in which the oblique case of the pronoun cannot be disputed, and others, with the case doubtful, in which a dative interpretation would produce no sense. But this construction, Einkenkel remarks, held sway for a brief period only. It disappeared as something quite foreign to the language, and the accusative was replaced by the dative or its prepositional substitute *for*, thus restoring the original syntactical relation. The entire development presents, to Einkenkel, the interesting phenomenon of an Old English construction being entirely converted by strong Romance influence, of the new construction for a time supplanting the old one, but being checked, and finally completely destroyed, by the older form.<sup>1</sup>

Stoffel<sup>2</sup> differs from Einkenkel in deriving the construction directly from the accusative with infinitive, not, however, from the Latin construction, but from an accusative with infinitive which, he declares, "as the logical subject of a quasi-impersonal verb must once have been as common in the Germanic tongues as we find it to have been in the classical languages."<sup>3</sup> In support of this he cites passages from Gothic which have been pointed out as most probably due to the influence of the Greek original, and he adds a single example from English, "*gōd is ūs hēr tō bēonne*," rendered by Wyclif "it is good *us to be here*," which translates the "*bonum est nos hic esse*" of the Vulgate. In order to establish a connection between this construction and the so-called "*inorganic for*," it is necessary for Stoffel to prove

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin (*Inflection and Syntax of Malory*, § 241 ff.) agrees with Einkenkel as to the origin of the construction, and also ascribes its anomalous form to the decay of the dative inflection, but he, like Jespersen, is aware of instances in which the substantive is in the nominative case, and his explanation of this development is not convincing.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in English*, 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stoffel, 55.

a transition from the accusative case to the dative, and this is no easy matter. "To me," he says in generously spaced letters, "there is hardly any doubt that 'inorganic *for*' came into use as a substitute for a *dative* case, which to the consciousness of Middle English speakers, had taken the place of the original *accusative* in such a sentence as 'It is good us to be here.'"<sup>1</sup> The obvious objection to this statement is that it ignores the undoubted priority of the dative construction. To prove the possibility of such a substitution Stoffel makes use of the very convenient loss of English inflections, and he adduces the very unreliable Gothic as a parallel. The *conditio sine qua non*, he adds, for the substitution of the dative for the accusative is that the predicate of the principal sentence should admit a dative complement, and this condition is fulfilled by English verbs such as *is fair, is a great chance, is good, etc.*<sup>2</sup>

Having thus satisfied himself of the probability of the transition, Stoffel proceeds to describe its manner. "There must have been a time somewhere in the fifteenth century, when it began to be felt that in our Middle English construction the noun or pronoun preceding the infinitive could no longer be looked upon as an accusative. An accusative even if accompanied by an infinitive, as the subject of the sentence, it was too absurd!"<sup>3</sup> (Why should it suddenly have become absurd in the fifteenth century, and not before?) Two developments were possible: first, the substitution of the nominative, now obsolete; secondly, the interpretation of the substantive as a dative, directly connected with the main verb, thus leaving the infinitive by itself to perform the function of logical subject of the sentence. Since an unmarked dative is against the genius of an uninflected language, the preposition *for*, which was rapidly encroaching on *to*, was pitched upon to mark the case. "Such, I am firmly con-

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Stoffel, 61.

vinced, is the origin of *for* + Acc. cum. Infin., which at the beginning of the XV century we have found to come into use as the logical subject of a sentence.”<sup>1</sup> The use of the locution in cases where there is no underlying dative relation constitutes a return to Middle English practice; the *for* is here utterly redundant, and the expression is placed at the head of the sentence to emphasize its function of subject and to lay stress on the fact that there is no connection between *for* + accusative and the main verb.<sup>2</sup>

The weak points of Stoffel's explanation are quite obvious. It starts from a construction, that of the accusative and infinitive with impersonal verbs, which cannot be shown to have had any existence in English. The account of the transition from an accusative to a dative is neither clearer nor more convincing than Einkenel's account of the transition from a dative to an accusative. A new examination of this construction is therefore not out of place. It seems to me that the explanation of the various case-forms in which the substantive appears is to be sought, not in some improbable and far-fetched theory of a transition from one case to another, but in a variety of sources, and that three such sources can be clearly distinguished.

(1) One of the most important of these is the substantive use of the infinitive as subject of a neuter verb:

<i>to do thus, were to me a full noyous bond to be</i>	
bounden with	<i>Exam. of Sir Wm. of Thorpe.</i> <sup>3</sup>
<i>Grevous to me, god wot, is for to twinne</i>	<i>Troilus, iv, 904.</i>

Often, for the sake of emphasis, the infinitive is to a certain extent detached from the predicate, and sometimes an anticipatory subject is introduced:

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Stoffel's explanation is followed by Franz: *Sh. Gramm.*, 380, and by the *New English Dictionary* (see under *for* 18).

<sup>3</sup> Pollard: *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, 113.



to swear by any creature, both GOD's Law and  
man's law is against *Exam. of Sir Wm. of Thorpe.*<sup>1</sup>

& þis is luciferis pride, stynkyng ypocrisie and  
anticristis blasphemye, to erie and meyntene  
þat suche ben able curatis and grete men of  
holy chirche *Wyclif, 24.*

and þis is foule ypocrisie to make men holden  
hem holy whanne þei stynken bifore god for  
old endured synne *Ib., 25.*

These are all general statements. If, now, it is desired to associate a substantive with the action of the infinitive, in order to limit it or make it more specific, what course was followed? Neuter verbs joined with certain nouns or adjectives admitted the employment of a dative of advantage or disadvantage, and in such cases the dative was felt as logically, if not syntactically, the subject of the action expressed by the infinitive:

Ēow is geseald tō witanne Godes rīces gerȳnu *Bright's Reader, 2, 4.*

Men seyn, "to wrecche is consolacioun  
To have an-other felawe in his peyne" *Troilus, I, 708.*

but yet it hardere is to me  
To seen that sorwe which that he is inne *Ib., IV, 905.*

a ful gret negligence  
Was hit to thee, to write unstedfastnesse  
Of women *L. G. W., A. 525.*

yit is it bet for me  
For to be deed in wyfly honestee *Ib., 2700.*

But not all predicates admit the employment of a dative of advantage, as in the sentence

to swear by any creature, both GOD's Law and man's law is against.

Most frequently is this true when the element joined with the neuter verb is a prepositional phrase or a noun. In such

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 112.



a case the obvious way of indicating the subject of the infinitive is by placing the substantive directly before it in the normal subject position, and in the normal subject case, the nominative:

*A carpenter to be a knyght*  
That was ever ageyne ryght.

Halliwell : *Nugae Poet.*, 17.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite clear, from this illustration, that the substantive has a force entirely distinct from that which would be conveyed by placing it in the dative case after *ageyne ryght*, and the locution thus introduced was therefore a distinct acquisition for the language.<sup>2</sup> That the locution came into use actually in this simple way seems to be borne out by examples like the following:

For gif it be symonye *a clerk to serue* a lord for a  
benefice & *þe lord to resceyue* þerfore gold or gold  
worp, bi þe same skil it is symonye *to serue* the  
pope in sich a straunge traueile and contre Wyclif, 66.

And yet *to have* that good purpose all their life,  
seemeth me no more harm the while, than *a*  
*poor beggar* that hath never a penny, *to think*  
that if he had great substance, he would  
give great alms for god's sake More, 35.

There is one way to go surely, that is, *to set*  
*lyttell* by thynges worldly, and *a manne* to holde  
*hym contented* onely with honestie Elyot : *Bank. of Sap.*, 10b.

*To labour* in wayne, and *a man veryenge hym*  
*selfe* to gette nought but displeasure is ex-  
treme peuyshenes *Ib.*, 30.

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner : *Gram.*, III, 22.

<sup>2</sup> The naturalness of this usage is attested by the recurrence of the construction in modern English :

*Apollo himself* to turn out of his own temple,  
in the very age of Sophocles, such Birmingham  
hexameters as sometimes astonished  
Greece, was like an English court keeping  
a Stephen Duck, etc.

De Quincey, *Style*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 203.

*A man doyng a trespasse ayenst almighty god  
& lye longe in it offendeth more greuously  
than . . . .*

Fisher, 203, 26.

Even more significant in relation to this point are two examples of this construction in Chaucer's translation of Boethius, which are not in imitation of an accusative with infinitive of the original.

Thou seidest eek, by the mouth of the same  
Plato, that it was a necessarie cause, *wyse  
men to taken and desire the governaunce of  
comune thinges*

134, 36.

Tu eiusdem viri ore hanc *sapientibus capessendae  
reipublicae necessariam causam esse monuisti*

And yif it seme a fair thing, *a man to han  
encreased and spred his name, than folweth it  
that it is demed to ben a foul thing, yif it ne  
be y-sprad and encreased*

161a19.

Quod si hoc ipsum *propagasse nomen pulcrum  
videtur, consequens est, ut foedum non extendisse iudicetur*

In the second sentence *ipsum*, as well as *hoc*, agrees with *nomen*, thus leaving *propagasse* alone as the subject of the sentence. If, then, we wished to attribute to the influence of the original Chaucer's translation of the phrase by a substantive with infinitive, we should have to impute to him an imperfect understanding of the Latin text.

But the use of the nominative with infinitive is by no means limited to those predicates which admit no dative of advantage. As has been pointed out, the function of the nominative is distinct from that of the dative, and the use of one in no way precludes the employment of the other in the same clause. This appears clearly from the following sentences, the predicates of which allow a dative case, but either omit it or employ it in addition to the nominative and infinitive, according to the requirements of each particular case.

Wiche is an ensample þat it is not good a kyng  
to ouer sore charge his peple Sir John Fortescue, 133.<sup>1</sup>

a barouns childe to be begyled, it were a cursed dede Nut-brown Maid.<sup>2</sup>

For hit is to þe soules biheue,  
Ech man to knowen his bileue On Seven Deadly Sins, 21.<sup>3</sup>

A kinges sone to ben in swich prisoun  
And be deuoured, thoughte hem gret pitee L. G. W., 1975.

(2) This tendency toward the formation of a clear nominative with infinitive construction as the subject of a neuter verb was reinforced from another direction. There is found, in Middle English, an independent infinitive in expressions indicating surprise or some other strong emotion, amounting almost to an exclamation:

“Horaste! allas! and falsen Troilus?  
I knowe him not, god helpe me so,” quod she. Troilus, III, 806.

With this infinitive, as with the one discussed above, there may be associated a substantive in the nominative case. To this completed exclamation, moreover, there may be joined, either to precede or follow, a declaratory sentence which gives a more precise and definite expression to the emotion:

O lord! what a tokene of mekenesse & forsakyng  
of worldly riches is þis; a prelat as an abott  
or a priour, þat is ded to þe world & pride &  
vanyte þer-of, to ride wip foure score hors . . .  
& to spende . . . boþe þousand markis and  
poundes Wyclif, 60.

“A kinges sone, and eek a knight,” quod she,  
“To been my servant in so low degree,  
God shilde hit, for the shame of women alle!”  
L. G. W., 2080.

Is this a fair avaut? Is this honour?  
A man himself accuse thus and defame! Occleve: Letter of Cupid.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Plummer.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat: *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Englische Studien*, IX, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Pollard, *15th Cent. Prose & Verse*, 16.

What ioy is me to here ! *A lad to sesse my stall !*

*Townley, 169, 111.*

*thu make me a knyght, that were on the newe !*

*Digby, 14, 338.*

*A man to haue his sight, born starke blinde,  
From Adam's Creation where shall we fynde ?* *Ib., 172, 40.*

*I to bere a childe that xal bere alle blisse  
And haue myn hosbond ageyn ; ho mythe haue joys more ?*

*Coventry, 77.<sup>1</sup>*

*So yonge a childe suche clergye to reche,  
and so sadly to say it, we wondyr sore* *Ib., 193.*

The exclamatory emotion is still distinctly perceptible, though in a somewhat weakened form, in sentences like the following :

That were shame vnto the sayd syre launcelot,  
*thou an armed knyghte to slee a naked man*  
by treason

*Malory, 209, 7.*

Never hast bee seyn ne shall be after this,  
Suche cruell rigore to the kinge of blisse ;  
*The lord that made all,*  
Thus *to suffere* in his humanitee,  
And that only for our iniquitee !

*Digby, 175, 102.*

*a maydn to bere a chyld, I wys,*  
Without mans seyde, that were ferly

*Townley, 187, 29.*

It should be noted how these latter examples tend to approximate those of the first class, and how in the few citations below the two constructions become practically indistinguishable.

A more meruell men neuer saw  
then now is sene vs here emang  
ffrom erth til heuen *a man be drawe*  
With myrth of angell sang

*Townley, 363, 326.*

This is a febyll fare,  
*A seke man and a sare*  
*To here of sich a fray*

*Ib., 161, 31.*

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner : *Gram.*, III, 22.

What a fawte it was,  
*The seruante*, alas,  
 His master to forsake!

*Digby*, 210, 1157.

It is a straunge thyng *an old man to take a*  
*yonge wyff*

*Coventry*, 95.<sup>1</sup>

Nou is þis, seide þat on, gret schame, ic understonde,  
*An emperour to siche aboute so wide in eche londe* *St. Catherine*, 75.<sup>2</sup>

According to our interpretation, it is possible to construe most of the expressions with neuter verbs as cases of nominative with infinitive. After these are differentiated from the mass, a small and well-defined residuum is left which needs to be accounted for in another way. The general characteristics of the former class are first, that the predicate verb is practically always neuter, not impersonal, the copula being more usually joined with a noun than with an adjective. In the second place, the predicate verb is never considered in relation to the substantive which is joined with the infinitive, but is felt either universally or in relation to another object which is definitely expressed in the dative case.

is hit nu wisdom *mon to don so wo him suluen* *Ancren Riwle*, 364.<sup>3</sup>

ðowgte ðis quead, "hu ma it ben,  
*Adom ben king and eue quuen"*

*Gen.-Ex.*, 295.

ðor was nogt wune on & on,  
 ðat orf ðor to water gon

*Ib.*, 1639.

Quat laban, "long wune is her driuen,  
*firmest on elde, first ben giuen*

*Ib.*, 1681.

For hit is vncoup & vnwone  
 þe fadir to bicome þe sone

*Curs. Mundi*, 10139.

ffor it es a velany *a man for to be curiously*  
*arrayde apone his heuede with perre and*  
*precyous stones, and all his body be*  
*nakede and bare*

*Rolle of Hampole*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner: *Gram.*, III, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Wülcker: *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Jespersen: *Gr. & Str. of Eng.*, 209 note.

<sup>4</sup> Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 138, 26.

ffor it is a presumpcion *a man* by his awene  
 wytt *for to prese* to mekill into knawing of  
 gastly thynges Rolle of Hampole.<sup>1</sup>

It is a fendis pride *a synful creature to putte*  
 defaute in þe ordynaunce of crist Wyclif, 3.

For god seiþ be ysaye þat *a man to turmente* his  
 hed *and peyne* his bodi only is not þat fast þe  
 whiche god chees, but þis is þe fast þat god  
 ches; *a man to breke* þe bondis of synne & *do*  
 werkis of mercy to poore men & nedi *Ib.*, 25.

þei demen it dedly synne, *a prest to fulfille* þe  
 ordynaunce of god in his fredom wip-oute  
 nouelrie of synful men *Ib.*, 193.

pat hit was to wordliche  
 Or elles to muche loue of flesche  
*A mon to kepe* him self to nessche *St. Bernard*, 332.<sup>2</sup>

*Goddess sone to Iugge* þare  
*And leten* a þef to lyue gon,  
 Bernard, þis was a sori fare,  
 Such dom hedde neuer no mon! *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, p. 308.<sup>3</sup>

Therfor hit ys a gret peril  
*Schipmen for to liste* thertyl *Robt. of Brunne*, 1462.<sup>4</sup>

þei thowt it was enow, quan þei schuld speke,  
*A kyng to be lord* owyr thys a-lone  
 Capgrave: *Life of St. Katherine*, 24, 139-9.<sup>5</sup>

And þat þis synne in yow schuld not be sene,  
*A kynges doghtyr to dey* bothe mayd & qween *Ib.*, 144, 1077.

Oure goddis may seyn that we been on-keende,  
 ffor alle the benefetes that thei to vs sende  
*We to suffre* the yougthe of woman-keende  
 Thus openly crist for to commende  
 And al his treson with colouris to defende,  
 Oure goddis eke deueles for to calle—  
 This suffre we, and that is werst of alle. *Ib.*, 307, 1422.

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 149, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Horstmann: *Altenglische Legenden*, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Horstman, *E. E. T. S.*, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia*, IX, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *E. E. T. S.*, vol. 100.



Ac it is but selden yseye þere sothenesse bereth witnesse,  
*Any creature þat is coupable afore a kynges iustice*  
*Be raunsoned for his repentaunce* *Piers Pl.*, xvii, 299.

Poule preueth it impossible *riche men to haue*  
*heuene* *Ib.*, x, 336.

For certainly, the firste poynt is this  
 Of noble corage and wel ordeyne,  
*A man to haue pees with him-self, y-wis* *Troilus*, i, 891.

For trewely I holde it greet deyntee  
*A kinges sone in armes wel to do,*  
*And been of good condiciouns ther-to* *Ib.*, ii, 164.

It is oon of the thinges that furthereth most,  
*A man to haue a leysur for to preye,*  
 And siker place his wo for to biwreye *Ib.*, ii, 1368.

Now were it tyme *a lady to go henne* *Ib.*, iii, 630.

Now is this bet, than *bothe two be lorn* *Ib.*, iii, 1223.

The worst kinde of infortune is this,  
*A man to haue ben in prosperitee,*  
*And it remembren, when it passed is* *Troilus*, iii, 1626.

For it were better worthy, trewely,  
*A worm to comen in my sight than thou* *L. G. W.*, A, 243.

This is the sentence of the philosophre:  
*A king to kepe his liges in justyce;*  
 With-oute doute, that is his offyce *Ib.*, 365.

No wonder is *a lewed man to ruste* *C. T.*, A, 502.

But it is good *a man ben at his large* *Ib.*, 2288.

It is ful fair *a man to bere him evene* *Ib.*, 1523.

Lo, swich it is *a miller to be fals!* *Ib.*, 4318.

ther is a maner garnison that no man may  
 vanquisse ne disconfite, and that is, *a*  
*lord to be bileved of hise citezeins and of his*  
*peple* *Ib.*, B, 2528.

It is a woodnesse *a man to stryve* with a stranger  
 or a more mighty man than he is him-self *Ib.*, 2671.

no-thing . . . is so muchel agayns nature, as *a*  
*man to encressen his owene profit to the harm*  
*of another man* *Ib.*, 2776.

- It is a gret worschipe, *a man to kepe him fro*  
 noyse and stryfe Ch. *Melibeus*.<sup>1</sup>
- certes it is a full greet folye *a man to pryden*  
*him in any of hem alle* C. T., I, 456.
- Another is, *a man to have a noble herte* Ib., 469.
- a man to pryde him in the goodes of grace is eek*  
*an outrageous folye* Ib., 470.
- The thridde grevance is *a man to have harm in*  
*his body* Ib., 666.
- if it be a foul thing, *a man to waste his catel on*  
*wommen, yet is it a fouler thing whan . . .* Ib., 849.
- It is a greet folye, *a womman to have a fair array*  
*outward and in hir-self be foul inward* Ib., 935.
- Forthi good is, whil a man may,  
*Echon to sette pes with other*  
*And loven as his oghne brother* Conf. Am., Prol. 1048.
- Lo now, my sone, what it is,  
*A man to caste his yhe amis* Ib., I, 379.
- Men to say well of women, it is the best :*  
*And naught for to despise them, ne deprave* Occleve : *Letter of C.*<sup>2</sup>
- The werste kynde of wrecchednesse is,  
*A man to have been weelful or this* De Reg. Princ., 55.
- Nay sothely, sone, it is al a-mys me pinkyþ ;  
*So povre a wight his lord to counterfete*  
*In his array, in my conceyit it stynkith* De Reg. Princ., 435.
- Good is *a man eschewe swich a powke* Ib., 1921.
- Perillous is, *a man his feith to breke* Ib., 2222.
- A ! lord, what it is fair and honorable,  
*A kyng from mochil speche him refreyne*  
 Ib., 2416 ; 2423 ; 2712 ; 2424 ; 3971 ; 3951 ; 4574.
- it is better that we slee a coward than thorow  
*a coward alle we to be slayne* Malory, 60, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 401, 5. Skeat (l. 2675) has "worship to a man."

<sup>2</sup> Pollard : *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, 20.

- for it is gods wyll *your body to be punysshed*  
for your fowle dedes *Ib.*, 67, 10.
- It semeth not (= is not likely) *yow to spede* there  
as other haue failed *Ib.*, 77, 34.
- It is the customme of my Countrey *a knyghte*  
alweyes *to kepe* his wepen with hym *Ib.*, 92, 23.
- I calle hit foly *knyghtes to abyde* whan they be  
ouermatched *Ib.*, 172, 12.
- Thou to loue* that loueth not the is but grete foly *Ib.*, 237, 17.
- Thou to lye* by our moder is to moche shame for  
vs to suffre *Ib.*, 453, 4.
- Loo, what it is *a man to haue connyng*e *Skelton*, I, 36.<sup>1</sup>
- No merwell is *a man be* lik a best *Henryson: Fables*.<sup>2</sup>
- His folke . . . putte hem self vpon their enmyes,  
so that it was force *the polonyens to recule abak*  
*Caxton: Blanchardyn*, 107, 16.<sup>3</sup>
- It is better *a man wysely to be styll* than folysshly  
*to speke* *Caxton: Charles the Grete*, 93, 5.<sup>3</sup>
- Yf I retorne wythoute to auenge my barons, I  
shall do pourely, sythe they haue susteyned  
and borne up the Crowne Imperial and my  
wylle, and *I now to retorne* wythoute to auenge  
them. He that gaf me suche counceyll loueth  
me but lytel, I se wel *Ib.*, 16, 14.<sup>3</sup>
- It is shame *you to bete* hym *Townley*, 237, 296.
- This bewteose lord to bryng* to me,  
his awene seruande, this is no skylle,  
*A knyght to baptyse* his lord kyng,  
My pauste may it not fulfyll *Townley*, 198, 125.
- Ther may not be lightly a greter trispeße,  
Then *the seruaunt* his master to denye *Digby*, 210, 1147.
- Ther-for it is the best,  
*Ych on* of vs a diuerse way to take *Ib.*, 209, 1125.

<sup>1</sup> *Ed.* Dyce.<sup>2</sup> Gregory Smith: *Specimens of Middle Scots*, 3.<sup>3</sup> *Ed.* Kellner in *E. E. T. S.*; see introduction, lxx.

- It is not conuenient *a man to be ther women*  
gon in traualyng *Coventry, 149.*<sup>1</sup>
- It was never the maner, by dere worthi God,  
*A yoman to pay for a knyght Gest of Robyn Hode.*<sup>2</sup>
- "It were greate shame," sayde Robyn,  
"A knight alone to ryde" *Ib.*<sup>3</sup>
- it sholde be profytable and necessarye *the pyte*  
*of god to be purchased for vs Fisher, 73, 20.*
- it is meruayle *this lyne to be so longe holden vp*  
by his power and mageste *Ib., 92, 34.*
- what dooth it profyte *the secrete mysteryes of*  
hym *to be shewed and made open to vs Ib., 109, 4.*
- But it is not ynough *all synnes to be done away Ib., 117, 8.*
- And it is of a trouth *the water and the oyle to haue*  
no strength of theyr owne nature *Ib., 109, 30.*
- It is impossyble *synnes to be done away by theffusyon*  
of gotes blode or bulles *Ib., 126, 134.*
- The gretest charyte & loue that may be shewed is  
*one frende wyllingly to suffre deth for an other*  
*Ib., 138, 35.*
- Take hede how conueniently it agreeth with holy  
scripture *this virgyn to be called a mornyng Ib., 49, 23.*
- God wist that it was nothing meet *the servant to*  
stand in better condition than his master *More, 29.*
- any man to chide once any of them for a hundred*  
heresies, that were utter wrong and no lawful  
law *Ib., 366 H.*
- for sith I see well that that thyng wyll not bee,  
better it is I reken there be triacle redy, then  
*the poison to tary and no triacle for it Ib., 356 F.*
- it seemeth impossible *a countrey nat to be well gouerned*  
by good lawes *Elyot, 26.*

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner: *Grammar*, III, 22.<sup>2</sup> Gummere: *Old English Ballads*, 6.<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 12.

And what pleasure and also utilitie is it to a man  
which intendeth to edifie, *himselfe to expresse the*  
figure of the warke that he purposeth *Ib.*, 45.

I suppose this to be the very trewe lawe of  
amitie, *a man to loue his frende no lesse*  
nor no more than he loueth hymselfe *Elyot: Bank of Sap.*, 3.

It is a fowle thyng *a man to tell moche* of hym  
selfe, specially that whiche is false *Ib.*, 7b.

It agreeth not with reason, that *he*<sup>1</sup> whom feare  
can not vanquysshe, *to be subdewed* with  
couetyse, or *he* which can be ouercome  
with no payne, *to be vanquished* with carnal  
affection *Ib.*, 9.

*A man to perceyue* that he is ignorant, is a  
token of wysedome *Ib.*, 28b.

Plinius hath thys very notable sentence, that  
*one to helpe* an other, is a meet comelinesse  
in the mortal kynde of man *Leland: New Year's Gift*, 101.

For as Vlpianus reporteth in his Pandectes,  
it is all one, *a thyng not to be, and not to*  
*apere* to the commen vse *Ib.*

And yet *all this to be sylenced* by all the ancient  
wryters of the same country . . . is so strange,  
that it may well seem impossible for any such  
thing to have been *Verstegan*, 91.

*This coniuecture to haue remayned* for some  
space after the great and general deluge,  
and the breach and separation of Albion  
from Gallia by the said deluge *not to have*  
*been caused*, is by sundry reasons to bee proued *Ib.*, 100.

assuredly his mother witte wrought this wonder,  
*the childe to dispraye his father, the dogg to byte*  
his mayster for his dainty morcell *Lodge: Defence of Poetry*.<sup>2</sup>

It is the lesser blot, modesty finds,  
*Women to change* their shapes, than men their minds  
*Two Gent.*, V, iv, 108.

<sup>1</sup> The nominative case may here be due to a slight contamination, suggested by the introduction of *that*.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory Smith: *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 64.

which . . .

Is all as monstrous to our human reason

As *my Antigonus* to break his grave

*W. T.*, V, i, 40.

*I* to bear this is some burden

*Timon*, II, iii, 266.

*Thou* this to hazard, needs must intimate

Skill infinite or monstrous desperate

*All's Well*, II, i, 186.

A heavier task could not have been imposed

Than *I* to speak my griefs unspeakable

*Errors*, I, i, 33.

(3) There is a distinct group of examples, in which the substantive is without doubt of dative origin, although the form of the pronoun in these cases has been employed by some as an argument in favor of the accusative interpretation. This is the construction after impersonal verbs, where the substantive is originally closely united with the predicate verb, *e. g.*,

It sit a prest to be wel thewed

*Conf. Am.*, I, 273.

Sometimes the substantive happens to be separated from the predicate verb by other expressions, and on such occasions there is a tendency to associate the substantive with the infinitive, forming a locution which at first sight is not distinguishable from the one employed after neuter verbs:

For wel sit it, the sothe for to seyne,

A woful wight to han a drery fere

*Troilus*, I, 12.

In the following examples the feeling for the dative varies in distinctness, but is never quite absent.

Better it is and more it availleth a man to have

a good name, than for to have grete riches *C. T.*, B, 2828.

And thilke folk that ben blisful, it accordeth

and is convenable to ben goddes

*Ch. Boeth.*, 179, 53.

it myshapped me to be sore wounded

*Malory*, 286, 27.



- And thogh it happene *sum* of hem, be fortune,  
*to gon out*, thei conen no maner of langage  
 but Ebrew Mandeville.<sup>1</sup>
- When hit happith *the herte to hente* the edder *Depos. of Rich. II.*<sup>2</sup>
- he deuised, that if it fortuneth *the quene to be*  
*dehlyuered* of a sonne . . . and if it fortune  
*ye quene to haue* a doughter Berners: *Chronicle*, 30.<sup>3</sup>
- It may also fortune *a man to be sory* for his  
*synne & to be confessed* of the same Fisher, 32, 11.
- if it fortune *any man to sinne* *Ib.*, 412, 27.
- if it missehappe *any man to fall* in such a fond  
 affection More, 357 A.

After certain adjectives compounded with neuter verbs,  
 an unmarked dative may be employed, as in the following  
 instances:

- Betere were *a ryche mon*  
*For te spouse* a god woman,  
 Thah hue be *sum del pore*,  
*Then te bringe* into his hous  
 A proud quene ant dangerous,  
 That is *sum del hore*. *Proverbs of Hending*, 280.<sup>4</sup>
- hard hit was *hem to abyde*<sup>5</sup> *Curs. Mundi*, 2398.
- Unkinde were *ous to kis* so kenne *Sir Tristrem*, III, 42.
- It sholde not be suffred *me to erre* *Troilus*, IV, 549.
- Now was *this child* as lyk un-to Custance  
 As possible is *a creature to be* *C. T.*, B, 1030.
- That in his house as famulier was he  
 As it possible is *any freend to be* *Ib.*, 1221.
- Now is it right *me to procede*,  
 How Shame gan medle and take hede *Rom. Rose*, 3787.

<sup>1</sup> Morris & Skeat: *Specimens of Early English*, II, 173.

<sup>2</sup> Mätzner: *Grammar*, III, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Krickau, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 310.

<sup>5</sup> Cf.: Nis þæt unĕaðe eallwealdan gode tō gefremmane *Andreas*, 205.

O Alisaundre ! it is vncouenable,  
*The for to haue of peple regyment* *De Reg. Princ.*, 3501.  
 Nat were it knyghtly, *me to be consente* *Ib.*, 2610.

But an element of confusion in the case of the impersonal verbs is that a number of them were undergoing a change from an impersonal to a personal use, as may be seen from

what neede *me to care* whatsoeuer I doe (Fisher, 382, 32) and  
*you need not to care* what you doe (Fisher, 384, 10).

It seems that in the transition there is a group of examples in which the *it* is retained in its original position with the verb, while the substantive, which comes to be felt as the subject of the now personal verb, follows in the position ordinarily occupied by the dative. The construction then presents every appearance of a nominative with infinitive as the subject of an impersonal verb.

þan nedly byhoves *be punyst syn*,  
 Outher opon erthe or with-in *Pr. Con.*, 2864.  
 And that happe (= if it happen) *the fundacion of*  
 the seyd collage *to take to noon effecte* *Paston Letters*, I, 449.  
 It fortuneth after *enemyes to come and lay syege*  
 to that Cyte *Fisher*, 261, 22.  
 It semeth *almighty god to be* in maner in a deed slepe  
*Ib.*, 170, 28.  
 Laste all though it semeth *the mornynge to be a*  
*cause of the sonne*, notwithstandinge the sonne  
 without doubte is the cause of it *Ib.*, 48, 17.  
 Yet surely if it shold happen *any boke to come abrode*  
 in the name of hys grace or hys honorable counsaill  
*More*, 1422.  
 It happened a *bataile to be* on the see betwene them  
*Elyot*, 180.  
 And verily I suppose, if there mought ones happen  
*some man*, hauyng an excellent wytte, *to be brought*  
 up in suche forme as I haue hytherto written *Ib.*, 153.

Another fact which seems to point to a dative origin for the substantive is the indiscriminate use of the dative, marked by the preposition *to*, and of an unmarked substantive, as illustrated in the prose of Pecoek. The two locutions are there employed after the same adjectives without the slightest variation in meaning.

If it like *to eny man for to holde* 142.

It is forbodun *to us forto vse* the othere writingis  
dyuerse fro Holi Scripture 211.

It is bettir *to a man forto entre* sureli into lijf  
with oon yge 539.

folie hadde be *to al thilk Cristen multitude* . . .  
*forto haue storid & tresourid* to hem eny grete  
possessiouns 318.

it is not perel *to Cristen men neithir to the Iewis*  
neither *to hethen men forto haue* and entermete  
with ymagis of God 249.

it is ouer hard *to him being riche for to entre* 297.

The substantive in the following examples may, possibly, be felt as a dative, though such an interpretation is not absolutely necessary.

it is not synne *a man forto giue* ensample to  
othere men 168.

*a man for to smyte and bete* his neighbour . . . is  
no synne 155.

it is posible *a riche man to entre* into the  
kingdom of heuen 296.

it is profitable and speedful ofte tymes *a man forto*  
*speke* as many vsen *forto speke* 27.

it is leeful and expedient *a man to bere* and holde  
171.

it is not forbodun of God *eny man to be riche* 297.

how hard it is *a man to reule* his tunge 422.

sithen it was profitable *dekenes to be* in the clergie  
332.

it is alloweable *me for to seie* 260.

These sentences, it is plain, in no way resemble those in which the substantive with infinitive is the subject of the neuter verb, since the substantive here is closely attached to the main verb. The only possible significance of this use of the unmarked dative is that when the feeling for the case became obscured, and the substantive, for the sake of emphasis, was placed at the beginning of the sentence, it was necessarily construed as a nominative case and was then merged with the similar construction of different origin.

(4) There still remain to be considered a few facts which seem to point to an accusative interpretation of the substantive. The Hereford-Wyclif translation of the Bible, a very literal version, sometimes translates a Latin accusative with infinitive by a similar English construction:

non est bonum *hominem esse* solum                      *Gen.*, II, 18.  
it is not good *man to be* alone

amarum est *te reliquisse*                                  *Jerem.*, II, 19.  
bittir it is *thee to han forsaken*

The first of these examples is, of course, neutral, and, to completely counterbalance the weight of the second, the same version affords us an instance of a Latin accusative rendered by an English nominative.

notum sit *isse nos*    *Ezra*, v, 8.  
be it known *wee to han go*.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally, no doubt, an isolated writer, saturated with his Latin models and influenced by the resemblance of the English construction to the Latin, may reproduce a real

<sup>1</sup> Hollack : *Vergl. Stud. zu der Hier.-Wycl. und Purv. Bibelübersetzung*, 68.

accusative with infinitive. Examples of such imitation are the following passages:

- Nis it bot hert breke,  
 That swithe wele finde we,  
 And foly *ous to speke*,  
 Ani word againes the Sir Tristrem, III, 64.
- Kynde tellith that the more eldere a man  
 waxith, the more it is agen kynde *hym*  
*for to pleyne* Sermon against Miracle Pl.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency to imitate the Latin is most marked in the prose of Pecock, who, as has already been pointed out, is in general dominated by Latin syntax. His prose contains the most numerous illustrations of the accusative with infinitive after impersonal and neuter verbs.

- it is preisable *him to bind* him silf 557.
- it is profitable *him to haue* sum thing 555.
- it is alloweable, resonable, and profitable *hem*  
*to haue* mansiouns 549.
- it is no nede *me forto . . . encerche* the writingis  
 of Doctouris 71.
- it is open *Poul for to haue meened* 217.
- it was so stabilid *ymagis to be had* in chirchis 254.
- it migte seme *miche* of al what y haue bifore  
 taugt in this present book *be vntrewe* 73.
- And whether this was not an horrible abhomynacioun  
 . . . *hem forto* so sturdili bi manye yeeris *iuge*  
*and diffame* bothe the clergi and weelnyg al the  
 lay party of Goddis chirche 149.
- which it is sure *God to chese* 188.
- it accordid not with resoun *eny man forto hold* to  
 gidere apostilhode or discipilhode and possessioun  
 of immouable godis 295.

<sup>1</sup>Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 241, 13.

it schulde be agens Scripture . . . a preest forto haue

377.

In one passage Pecoock employs a pronoun in the nominative case:

and therfore thilk proces rather confermeth  
ymagis to mowe lawfulli be, than that *thei*  
*alle to be* is vnleeful

147.

Our facts make it clear that the construction of a substantive and infinitive with neuter and impersonal verbs is the result of native linguistic forces. The elements which contributed to the development of this construction are (1) the infinitive, employed as the subject of neuter verbs, to which a substantive in the nominative case was joined when it was desired to limit the action expressed by the infinitive, without in any way connecting the substantive with the main verb; (2) the use of a nominative with infinitive to express a strong emotion—an exclamatory phrase to which a declaratory statement was often added in order to give a more precise and deliberate utterance to the emotion. The two coördinate parts in time coalesced into a single sentence group, and then it became possible for examples of this class to be merged with those of the first. (3) Still another source for the construction is to be sought in a group of impersonal verbs regularly followed by a dative case with a supplementary infinitive. The transition from the impersonal to the personal construction, and the consequent change of the dative to a nominative, produced a number of examples in which the substantive continued to be construed with the infinitive instead of being taken as the subject of the main verb. If any importance is to be attached to the loss of inflections as a factor in determining the case of the substantive in our locution, it must obviously be to emphasize its nominative value. For it is difficult to



understand how a feeling for the accusative case could have been developed in the language at a time when there was no way of marking or of recognizing such a case. The only certain uses of the accusative are such as occur in literal translations of Latin texts or, very sporadically, in original documents written under strong Latin influence. The close parallel between the English and Latin locutions rendered the contamination of one by the other very easy. The only writer in whom the contamination takes place to a notable degree is Pecoek, and his position in the history of English prose is scarcely that of a pioneer or model, as is often assumed. Syntactically he is anomalous and under complete subjection to his Latin models.

“INORGANIC *For*.”

In the light of the foregoing facts, the explanation of the construction with inorganic *for* is a simple one. The use of a dative case, introduced by the preposition *for* or *to*, after neuter verbs compounded with certain nouns and adjectives, was quite common in the fourteenth century. The same nouns and adjectives also admitted a construction of a substantive and infinitive which possessed a different force and in which the former element was in no way connected with the predicate verb. This loose and apparently detached position of the substantive was not long tolerated in the language, and the tendency to assimilate this independent noun and infinitive with the dative construction, outwardly at least, by the introduction of *for* revealed itself even in the prose of Wyclif:

it is agens charite *for prestis to preie euere*  
more and no tyme *to preche*

112.

The force of the original construction is very seldom obscured by this intrusion of the preposition, since the context plainly

indicates the syntactical function of the expression introduced by it, which is that of subject of the sentence.

By the continued operation of analogy, the leveling process was extended. Not only was the preposition inserted when the substantive with infinitive followed the predicate, but even when it preceded and stood at the head of the sentence. Not only was *for* introduced after predicates which admitted a dative case, but it was also employed in conjunction with such as could by no possibility be construed with a dative. In all of these uses the primary force of the construction stands out clearly. The preposition *for* in no way changes the feeling for the expression; it disguises its origin to a certain extent, but the disguise is penetrated by the slightest examination. What we have in this construction, therefore, is not, as Einkenel would have it, a dative case which reverts to an earlier construction after having gone through the intermediate stage of an accusative. Neither is it a dative derived directly from an accusative and later returning to its accusative function, as Stoffel interprets it. The construction is merely that of a nominative with infinitive, subject of a neuter verb, which is leveled in order to bring it into conformity with the much older and more familiar dative construction after such verbs, and in which the syntactical relations of the substantive are not in the least affected by the formal change. The use of the preposition, however, necessarily eliminates the nominative forms from the construction.

Examples of the use of inorganic *for* are found in the fourteenth century,<sup>1</sup> are fairly common in the sixteenth, and increase rapidly thereafter.

<sup>1</sup>There is no justification for an assertion like the following: "Such sentences as 'I don't know what is worse than *for such wicked strumpets to lay their sins at honest men's doors*' (Fielding) would be sought in vain before the eighteenth century, though the way was paved for them in such Shakespearian sentences like '*For us to levy power Proportionate to th' enemy is all impossible.*'"

- it is best *for hem to be men of priuat religion* Wyclif, 17.
- it is blasphemye *for any creature to take his to hym*  
*Ib.*, 81.
- For, sir, hit is no maystrie *for a lord*  
*To dampne a man with-oute answee or word* L. G. W., A, 386.
- It is a besy thing  
*For one man to rule a kyng* Skelton, I, 349.
- And syth it is conuenient & accordynge *for synners*  
*to wayle, to wepe, to faste* Fisher, 31, 27.
- Many causes there be *for synners to be penytent* *Ib.*, 63, 28.
- Better it were *for the artyfycer to make a clocke all*  
*new than to mende or brynge agayne into the*  
*ryght course a clocke . . .* *Ib.*, 117, 33.
- It is a straunge and a dede in maner ayenst nature  
*for almyghty god to shewe vengeance* *Ib.*, 166, 10.
- And though it were sorowful & greuous *for the*  
*chirche to here these sayd wordes* *Ib.*, 192, 6.
- Were it suppose ye al this considered a meetly  
*thyng for vs to desyre to haue this noble princes*  
*here* *Ib.*, 306, 20.
- O my sweete Lorde, what is this *for thee to desire* *Ib.*, 385, 35.
- It booteth not *for me to weep or cry* More, ii.
- It is a great reproche and dishonestie *for the*  
*husbande to come home wythowte hys wiffe, or*  
*the wiffe withoute her husband, or the sonne*  
*without his father* *Utopia*, 257.<sup>1</sup>
- In maximo probro est coniux absque coniuge  
*redux, aut amisso parente reuersus filius*
- when it shal not be lawfull *for their bodies to be*  
*seperate agayne* *Ib.*, 227.
- quum corpore iam *seiuungi non liceat*
- But *for the husbande to put away his wyfe for*  
*no faulte, but for that some myshappe is*  
*fallen to her bodye, thys by no meanes*  
*they wyll suffre* *Ib.*, 227.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Lupton.

Alioquin inuitam coniugem, cuius nulla sit  
 noxa, *repudiare*, quod corporis obtigerit  
 calamitati, id uero nullo pacto ferunt

Then if it be a poynte of humanitie *for man to*  
*bryng* health and comforte to man *Ib.*, 191.  
*hominem homini salutis ac solatio esse, si*  
*humanum est maxime*

had it not bene better *for yowe to haue played* the  
 domme persone  
 nonne praestiterit *egisse* mutam personam *Ib.*, 98.

For it is not possible *for all thynges to be well*  
*nam ut omnia bene sint fieri non potest* *Ib.*, 100.

*for for the watch to babble and to talk* is most  
 tolerable and not to be endured *Much Ado*, III, iii, 36.

Besides, it were a mock  
 Apt to be render'd, *for some one to say*  
 "Break up the senate till another time" *Caesar*, II, ii, 96.

'tis no sin *for a man to labour* in his vocation *I Hen. IV*, I, ii, 116.

*for, for me to put him to his purgation* would  
 perhaps plunge him into far more choler *Hamlet*, III, ii, 317.

But *for him*, though almost on certain proof,  
*to give it hearing, not belief, deserves my*  
 hate for ever *Massinger ; Duke of Milan*, IV, ii.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For further extension of the construction, see Stoffel, 48 ff.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CONJUNCTIVE-IMPERATIVE USE OF THE INFINITIVE

It seems convenient to adopt the term *conjunctive-imperative* for the construction about to be described, because of its analogy to a Greek locution bearing that name. This construction has been noticed by several writers, but in so fragmentary a fashion, due to the fact that the authors were each considering a single literary monument, that a satisfactory description of it was out of the question. The full extent of its use in Middle English has not hitherto been estimated.

Baldwin quotes the following passage from Malory:

this is my counceill . . . that we lete puruey x  
knygtes . . . & they to kepe this swerd <sup>1</sup> 40, 35.

and regards the italicized expression as an extension of the use after neuter verbs, through analogy to such sentences as "I will rescue her or else to die." Such an analogy, however, is not sufficiently obvious to warrant the acceptance of his theory. Hardly more satisfactory is the explanation of Kellner, who asserts a tendency in Middle English to supplant temporal and conditional clauses by absolute constructions. The present and past participles were thus employed to represent present and past tenses, *e. g.*,

the same Plato livinge, his maister Socrates deservede  
victorie Ch. *Boeth.*, 133, 29.

The service doon, they soupen al by day C. T., F, 297.

<sup>1</sup> § 244.

But the lack of a future participle forced writers to resort to the infinitive to denote future tenses. Thus, Kellner says, there came into existence that peculiar use, which, in the course of its development became more and more free, so that in the fifteenth century the infinitive absolute often serves to alternate with any principal sentence or clause. Caxton, he affirms, disliked the construction, but Malory made a great deal of it, and it is possibly due to the influence of this great favorite that the absolute infinitive is frequent in Berners and occurs even in Elizabethan times.<sup>1</sup> A fundamental objection to Kellner's theory is that he has comprehended under a single definition four or five widely divergent constructions, among which is the substantive with infinitive after neuter verbs, and that his explanation does not absolutely fit any of them.<sup>2</sup>

Still another interpretation of this so-called absolute construction is suggested by Krickau, who thus describes it: 'When two coördinate clauses depend upon a verb of *wishing*, the writer employs a substantive clause for the first and usually an accusative with infinitive for the second. Curiously the subject of the second clause, when it is a personal pronoun, is in the nominative instead of the accusative case.' He then proceeds to give the following arbitrary explanation of this curious phenomenon: 'When a modal auxiliary was used in the first of several coördinate clauses, its use was avoided in the second [no reason] even with a different subject, and the bare infinitive with the preposition *to* was substituted, the auxiliary being understood. Now even when there was no such auxiliary, but there might have been, the writer placed the nominative of the personal pronoun in the second coördinate clause in recollection of the former construction.' 'Fundamentally,' he adds, 'the

<sup>1</sup> Caxton's *Syntax* in *Transactions of Phil. Soc.*, 1888-1890, § 29.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin, § 249, analyzes Kellner's classification.



construction is one of accusative with infinitive after verbs of *wishing*, and the subject whose case cannot be identified by its form is originally to be construed as an accusative in these expressions.' The greater freedom of the construction in Berners forces Krickau to assume that it was possible to consider a verb of *wishing* or *desiring* omitted, and the construction as dependent upon it.<sup>1</sup>

Einenkel arrives nearer the truth when he suggests that the frequent employment of the *absolute* infinitive is to be traced primarily to its use in expressing purpose. 'We may have a sentence, he says, in which an infinitive of purpose, dependent on the main verb, has a subject distinct from that of the main verb and sometimes to be supplied from the context, *e. g.*,

He yaf *me* al the brydel in *myn* hond  
*To han* the governance of hous and lond C. T., D, 813.

The words *me* and *myn* here suggest the subject for *to han*. But if the context did not afford us any clue as to the subject, or if the infinitive for which the subject was to be supplied were preceded by another infinitive, the subject of which was identical with that of the main verb, we should have an ambiguous sentence, such as

\* He yaf *me* al the brydel in *myn* hond to live in idelnesse  
 and to have the governance of hous and lond.

To render this perfectly intelligible, Chaucer would introduce the personal pronoun in the nominative case to define the subject of the infinitive:

I dar the better aske of yow a space  
 Of audience, to shewen our requeste,  
 And *ye*, my lord, to doon right as yow leste C. T., E, 103.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Der Acc. mit dem Inf.*, 21-22; 27-29. Cf. also Jespersen: *Prog. in Lang.*, 206-209.

<sup>2</sup>*Streifzüge*, 80,

But Einkenkel is content to call it one of Chaucer's *make-shift* constructions,<sup>1</sup> and he gives no account of the nature or the manner of its development. He confines his explanation within the limits of Chaucer's usage, and therefore his explanation is too narrow. We can, however, avail ourselves of his useful hint in order to establish more firmly a connection between the final and the conjunctive-imperative uses of the infinitive in Middle English.

According to Brugmann and Delbrück the imperative use of the infinitive is derived immediately from its use to indicate purpose and result, which is its primary function. An instance of a substantive in the nominative case being employed as the subject of such an infinitive is cited by Delbrück from Vedic Sanskrit:<sup>2</sup>

yo mártvyēṣv amṛta ṛtāvā dēvō dēvēṣv aratír nidhāyi hōtā yájīsthō  
mahná śucādhyāi havyāir agnir mānuṣa īrayādhyāi RV, 4, 2, 1.

He who is set among mortals as an immortal, sacred comrade, *may the priest* most fitted for sacrificing *burn* mightily, *may Agni become alive* through the sacrifice of the man (lit. *the priest to burn . . . Agni to become alive*).

In Homeric Greek, also, it was quite usual to employ a subject in the nominative case with an imperative infinitive referring to a third person:

καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρῶτοις μάχεσθαι Iliad, 9, 709.  
let him fight (lit. *he to fight*) among the foremost

ἡῶθεν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἴτω κοῖλας ἐπὶ νῆας  
εἰπόμεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσ' Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάῳ  
μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο τοῦ εἵνεκα νείκος ὄρωρεν  
καὶ δὲ τὸδ' εἰπόμεναι πνικινὸν ἔπος Ib., 7, 372.

In the morning let Idaeus go to the hollow ships to announce to the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the message of Paris, because of whom the strife arose, and *to say* this shrewd speech (= let him say)

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Vergleichende Syntax*, II, 453-454.

τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας

σῶμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν

*Ib.*, 7, 78.

(he) to return (= let him return) my body again

εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνη

αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα

ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νηέσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν,

εἰ δὲ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος

Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι *Ib.*, 3, 281.

If Paris should slay Menelaus, then let him retain Helen and all his possessions and let us return in our sea-journeying ships, but if the yellow-haired Menelaus slay Paris, then the Trojans to restore Helen and all the treasures.

It is worth while to anticipate for a moment in order to indicate the exact parallel between the last passage and the following from Berners:

yf it fortunyd that the vanquysser sle his enmye  
in y<sup>e</sup> feld or he confesse y<sup>e</sup> treason for y<sup>e</sup> deth  
of his sonne, that than y<sup>e</sup> vanquesser to lese al  
his londys & hym selfe to be bannysshyd out of  
y<sup>e</sup> realme of france

*Huon*, 40, 23.

Another Greek construction which may enable us better to estimate our Middle English locutions is that commonly occurring in inscriptions. There, according to Delbrück, the will of the lawgiver is expressed by the imperative, optative, future indicative and infinitive, in connection with the last of which the subject is either omitted or placed in the accusative case. It seems natural to assume, adds Delbrück, by way of explanation, that in this apparently independent accusative with infinitive there constantly hovers before the mind some expression such as *it is decreed*.<sup>1</sup> Practically all the uses of the infinitive alluded to above are represented in Middle English literature, and they will be taken up in order. First, therefore, comes the purpose-result use.

An isolated example of a nominative with infinitive ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Vergleichende Syntax*, II, 454-456.

pressing purpose and depending more or less closely on the main verb is found in Anglo-Saxon prose:

hīe heora here on tū tōdǣldon ; ōþer æt hām  
*bēon* heora lond tō healdanne, ōþer ūt faran  
 tō winnanne *Orosius, 46, 16.<sup>1</sup>*

In Middle English the construction is not seldom met with.

Whi schope thou me to wrother-hele  
 To be thus togged & to-torn and *othere to haven*  
 al mi wele *Debate of Body & Soul.<sup>2</sup>*

Vndir þe rote a welle out braste  
 wiþ strenes clere fresshe & colde  
*Alle to drinke* ynowge þat wolde *Curs. Mundi, 11704.*

Oure lord wolde for resoun þilke  
 Be fed of a maydenes mylke  
*So hir maydenhede to be hid*  
*and hir husbonde wide kid* *Ib., 10795.*

Some he gaf wytte with wordes to shewe,  
 Witte to wynne her lyfode with as þe worlde asketh,  
 As prechouris & prestes & prentyces of lawe,  
*þei lelly to lyue by laboure of tonge,*  
*And bi witte to wissen other* *Piers Pl., XIX, 224.*

þe kynge and þe comune and kynde witte þe þridde  
 Shope lawe & lewte *eche man to knowe his owne* *Ib., Prol., 121.*

Glotonye he gaf them eke and grete othes togydere,  
 And alday to drynke at dyuerse tauernes,  
 And there to iangle and to iape . . .  
*And þei to haue and to holde and here eyres after,*  
 A dwellyng with þe deucl *and dampned be for eue* *Ib., II, 92.*

in so sitting in the myddil he was the redier and  
 the abler forto waite into al her good and profit,  
 (for to be seen of hem alle, and forto be herd  
 of hem alle, and *alle hem<sup>3</sup> forto receyve* mete of  
 him the bettir) *Pecock, 300.*

<sup>1</sup> Shearin : *Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 103. Commenting on it in a note, M. calls it an accusative with infinitive to express purpose.

<sup>3</sup> The accusative here may be due to Pecock's associating the accusative as the regular subject of the infinitive.

sped well, good woman! I am to be sentt,  
*yow for to speke with be Kyng*

*Digby, 116, 1643.*

therfor' a rib I from the take,  
 therof shall be (maide) thi make,

And be to thi helpyng.

*Ye both to gouerne* that here is,  
 and euer more to be in blis

ye wax in my blissyng

*Townley, 7, 186.*

Pray to thy Son aboute the sterris clere,

*He to vouchesaf,* by thy mediacion,

To pardon thy seruauant, and brynge to saluacion

*Skelton, 1, 14.*

That sonday thenglysshmen made great dykes and

hedges about, *their archers to be the more stronger*

*Berners: Chron., 196.*

lette vs all be a fote, except thre hundred men of

armes . . . *to the entent they somewhat to breke and*

*to opyn* the archers, and thanne your batayls to

folowe on quickly afote . . .

*Ib., 195.*

I wold desyre you . . . that ye wolde graunt a

truse to endure all onely but to morowe, *so*

*that you nor we, none to greue other, but to be in*

*peace y<sup>t</sup> day*

*Ib., 142.*

Than the kynge sente to prelates of the chirche,

that euery man of the oste sholde be confessed

and *euery man to foryeven* other, and be in

*charite* and clene lyf

*Merlin, 55.*

This moost precyous blode was shedde without

mesure . . . *to thentent* our synnes . . . shal

. . . be clensed, done away and *we to be parte*

*takers* of the redempcyon ones done

*Fisher, 229, 29.*

gyuynge also example of good and honest

conversacyon *to thende* that all the people in

this worlde may be gadered in to one flocke,

and *the chyrche to be knytte togyder* in one fayth

hope & charyte

*Ib., 191, 1.*

Then have we nowe come furth the booke of

Frere Barnes . . . which . . . is at thys daye

comen to the realme by safe conducte, whiche

at hys humble suite, the kynges hyghnesse of

his blessed disposicion condescended to graunt

hym, to thende that if there myght yet any  
 sparke of grace be founden in hym, it myght  
 be kept kindeled, and encreased, rather *than*  
*the man to be cast away* More, 342 G.

I trust so to open this wyndow, that the lyght  
 shal be seane . . . and *the old glory* of your  
 renoumed Britaine to *reflorish* through the  
 worlde Leland: *New Year's Gift*, 67.

The infinitive is also employed in English with an imperative force, to state an injunction or agreement, after expressions denoting a *command*, *decree*, *pledge*, etc. Chronologically this use is parallel with that of purpose and result, but its precise relation to the latter is illustrated by other Indo-Germanic languages. The kinship of the two constructions is quite obvious from the following Middle English examples:

"It nere," quod he, "to thee no greet honour  
 For to be fals, ne for to be traytour  
 To me, that am thy cosin and thy brother  
*Y-sworn* ful depe, and ech of us til other,  
 That never, for to dyen in the payne,  
 Till that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,  
*Neither of us* in love to *hindren* other,  
 Ne in non other cas, *my* leve brother;  
 But that thou sholdest trewely forthren me  
 In every cas, and I shall forthren thee" C. T., A, 1129.

Ordinarily the expression of command is followed by a clause, and a second statement, parallel to the first, is rendered by a substantive with an infinitive:

he *het* men to gyue hem mede  
 If þei coude hit rigtly rede  
 And þei to *gyue* þe same ageyn  
 If þei hit red nougt certeyn Curs. Mundi, 7121.

And my wyll is, that my body be Beryed in the  
 Chirchhey of the Paryshchurch of Thornecombe  
 . . . And no fest noþer terment y-hold, bote.iiij.  
 Masses atte my buryng, saue CCC poure men  
 schullen haue mete & drynke ynowe . . . and



.xiiij. poure men clothed in Russett ylyned  
witt white, and *euery of ham to haue .viijd.*

*Earliest English Wills, 26, 20.*

More-ouer hit *is my will* that my body be buryd  
. . . And that at the day of my buryng ther  
be saide iij masses, And all-so that þer be  
xiiij pore men clothid in white, holdyng  
eche of hem a torghe brennyng . . . And  
afterward *the torgis to be dalt .iij.* of hem  
to the Chirch of Thornecombe

*E. E. W., 129, 12.*

*I will* that then all such porcion or porcions  
as shulde come to hym or theym soo dyng  
remayn unto the other on lyving, evynly  
amonges theym to be devided: provided  
alway, that if the said .ij. parts be in any  
maner of stuff or catall or any part of  
theym and not brought into money, that  
then *my said wif to have* the choyse off  
whiche half she best lyketh, *and my said*  
*.iiij. childern to holde theym contented* with  
all suche half as she refusith

*Fabyan's Will, vii.*

which .iiij. tapers *I will* be holden at every  
tyme by foure poore men, to the whiche  
*I will* that to everyche of theym be geven  
for their labours . . . and if any of theym  
happen to be unmarried, than *they to have*  
but .iij*d.* a pece

*Ib., iv.*

Also *I will* that myn executrice doo assemble  
upon the said day of moneths mynde .xij.  
of the porest menys children of the fore-  
said parisshe and after the masse is endid  
and other obseruances, *the said children to*  
*be ordered* aboute my grave, and there  
knelyng, *to say* for my soule . . . and *the*  
*residue to say* a pater noster

*Ib., v.*

Also if it happen me to dye at London, than  
*I will* that suche .iiij. of my felishiye as  
bere me to churche, have my ryngs of gold  
. . . and *the other too . . . to have viij*d.** a  
piece of theym

*Ib., vi.*

*I will* that the seid Seynt Marie preest ne his  
successours shal not lete to ferme the seid  
place to no man nor woman . . . but *he and*  
*his successours to logge* there

*Bury Wills, 21.*

*I will and ordeyne . . . that he shall . . .  
 founde or do founde . . . and indewe  
 withinne the seid macion or collage of vij.  
 religeous monkys or pristes, to preye for  
 the soules above seyed in perpetuite, of  
 whiche one to be chief governor of hem, and  
 he to have x li.*

Will of Sir J. Fastolf (b)<sup>1</sup>.

Sche is vndyr godd made be patent lettyr  
 hys vycere generall, if I schall sey sothe,  
 To geue mankynd bothe nase, eye, & tothe  
 Of what schape þat hyr lykyth to geue,  
 And of hyr werk *no man hyr to repreue*

Capgrave: *Life of St. Katherine*, 158, 1319.

And the clerkes *charged* the kynge that in nc  
 manere he sholde not se me a-lyve; but as  
 sone as I were founde, that I sholde with-  
 oute respite be slain, and *my blode to be  
 brought* to be putte with morter in the  
 foundement of the tour

*Merlin*, 31.

that he and the gode lady his wif *swere* on a  
 boke to kepe a childe that shal be brought  
 vnto hem, and that she yeve it soke of hir  
 owne mylke, and *hir owne childe to be put* to  
 a-nothir woman to be norissed

*Ib.*, 88.

and he *badde* me that I sholde pray yow to  
 put youre owne childe to sowken a-nother  
 woman, for my love, and *your wif to yeve* the  
 childe sowken of her owne mylke

*Ib.*, 88.

They within *made apoynement* with the erle, to  
 sende xxiiii of their chiefe burgesses to  
 Burdeux, in hostage . . . and if within  
 that space, the frenche kynge do sende a  
 suffycient persone, to kepe the felde agaynst  
 therle of Derby, than *they to have agayne*  
 their hostages, and *to be quyte* of their  
 bonde; and yf nat, than *they to put theym*  
 vnder the obeysaunce of the kynge of  
 Englande

Berners: *Chronicle*, 135.

the same season ther were *acorded, ordeyned*  
 and *confirmed*, alyaunces and confederacions,

<sup>1</sup> *Paston Letters*, I, 446.

right great and large, and *sworne* solemnly on bothe parties, to holde fermly and nat to breke, nor to do agaynst it by no maner of way, but *that those two kynges to abyde* fermly in vnyte of peace, loue, and alyance *Ib.*, 438.

The other lordes were of the contrary opinyon, sayeng, how they had *sealed and sworne*, howe that if the kyng, or one of his chyldren, were nat there personally by the sayd day, *than they to yelde them up* to the obeysance of the frenche kyng *Ib.*, 451.<sup>1</sup>

In memorie where of it was then *ordayned*, that from thence forth no drum, pype or other instrument should be sounded in the street leading to the gate through which they passed: nor *no osterie to be there holden* Verstegan, 86.

The idea of commanding, on which the expression of nominative with infinitive depends, may be merely implied in the context, not directly expressed. In such cases the infinitive approaches very closely to the force of a pure imperative.

“The beste counseile,” seide thei, “that we se ther-inne is that ye somowne a grete courte to be at Cardoel . . . and that eche come araide to a-bide xv dayes, and *eueriche man to brynge* with hym his wif . . .” And the kyng was plesed wele with her counseile, and sente to alle the barons to be at Pentecoste at Cardoel, and *euery baron to brynge* with hym his wif *Merlin*, 65.

and therefore hit was my quest to brynge her ageyne and yow bothe or els *the one of vs to abyde* in the felde *Malory*, 114, 27.

& yf he can vanquyssh me then he shall delyuer to thee thy nece Esclaramond & yf I ouercome thy man then *thou to returne* to thy cite & suffer thy nece styll with him & also *thou to restore* all y<sup>e</sup> domages that thou hast done him & his in this warre *Berners: Huon*, 185, 9.

<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Krickau, 27, but not found.

hit shall be expedient that a noble mannes  
sonne, in his infancie, haue with hym  
continually onely suche as may accustome  
hym by litle and litle to speake pure and  
elegant latin. Semblably *the nourisses and  
other women* aboute hym, if it be possible,  
*to do the same*

Elyot, 34.

Wherefore there wolde be radde to hym, for  
an introduction, two the fyrste bokes of the  
warke of Aristotell, called *Ethicae*, wherein  
is contained the definitions and propre  
significations of euery vertue; and *that to  
be lerned in greke*

Elyot, 91.

Lastly, that if there shall be two or more  
competitors for the same vacancy, *caeteris  
paribus*, he that has the thickest skin to  
*have the preference*

*Spec.*, 18.

The future indicative is likewise employed to express a  
command when the subject is in the third person, and parallel  
to such forms an infinitive is sometimes found:

Also *he will* that if his wyf or eny of his saide  
sonnes worke the contrarye of this his  
present wille, in lettyng or distourbyng of  
the saide executours of fulfilling ther-of,  
that then *þey shall lose* aduantage and  
benefite of this his present wille

*E. E. Wills*, 128, 9.

The stage directions in the Townley and Digby plays gen-  
erally read "*Here shall enter . . .*", "*Here Herod shall  
rage,*" etc., but in one instance we have:

Here *to enter a dyuel* with thunder and fyre, and  
*to auance hym sylfe*, saying as folowyth; and  
hys spech spokyn, *to syt downe in a chayre*     *Digby*, 43.

*A commaundement* make I here  
þat ye alle may se & lere  
þe bareyn shal hir fruyt fynde  
And opere sene that gitt are blynde  
þe pore also *to gete* some bote  
And *crepel to go* rigt on fote  
þe dede *to rise & opere* vchone  
*Be sett* in to her state anone

*Curs. Mundi*, 12255.

spirits malyngny xall com to þe,  
 Hyr to tempt in euery plase,  
 now *alle the vj þat her' be*,  
 wysely to *werke*, hyr fawor to wynne,  
 to *entyr* her person be þe labor of lechery,  
 þat she at þe last may com to helle

*Digby*, 70, 428.

Sometimes the infinitive has a force between that of futurity and command, corresponding rather closely to the Latin periphrastic:

In bedleem iuda *he to be bore* *Curs. Mundi*, 11468.

*I woll* Elysabeth Keston have (80) marke paid  
 to Norman Waschebourne for her mariage.  
 And yef he gruche therwith, *the mater so to be*  
*laboryd and sewyd* that he be constrayned ther  
 to do hit

*E. E. Wills*, 118, 18.

And all-so if the saide Margarete his wyff  
 decesse or tyme Rauf his son comme at ful  
 age, thanne *all her dower, and the xx marc*  
*yerely forsaide, to be kept* to the sustenance  
 of al his Children yn the maner and fourme  
 forsaide

*Ib.*, 122, 35.

And if he die withoute heires of his body  
 comyng . . . Thanne *the saide maners, londes,*  
*tenementes, rentes & services*, with the  
 appurtenaunces, *to remayne* to Margarete

*Ib.*, 124, 3.

I must go & seke for the horne cuppe &  
 harnes ye which thou wert wont to haue  
 & enioy & *I<sup>1</sup> to bere* them to kinge Oberon

Berners: *Huon*, 169, 12.

Which treaty toke such effect, that all such  
 knightes as were within the towne, might  
 depart at their pleasur, without any damage,  
 and to drawe to Niorth, to Xaintes, and to  
 Lusygnen, or whyder soeuer it pleased them,  
 and the lady of Soubise to put herself vnder  
 the obeysance of the frenche kyng

Berners: *Chronicle*, 452.

And the yonge kyng was putte vnto the rule  
 of the gentyll knyght sir Rycharde Dangle,  
 by the accorde of all the lande, to be

<sup>1</sup> Variant inserts *am*.

instructed in noble vertues ; and *the realme  
of England to be governed by the duke of  
Lancastre*

*Ib.*, 483.

Among whom if any be proued after to have  
abused it, than *the use therof to be forboden*  
him, eyther for euer or till he be waxen  
wyser

More.<sup>1</sup>

Their bloody sign of battle is hung out,  
And *something to be done* immediately

*Cæsar*, V, i, 15.

I saw him arrested, saw him carried away ;  
and, which is more, within these three  
days *his head to be chopped off*

*Meas. f. Meas.*, I, ii, 67.

'Tis opportune to look back upon old times,  
and contemplate our forefathers. Great  
examples grow thin, and *to be fetched*  
from the passed world

Browne, 403.

We even find in English instances of the use of an infinitive in direct commands of the second person.<sup>2</sup>

Cumað him fore ond cnēow biġeað  
on ansýne ūres drihtnes,  
ond him *wēpan*<sup>3</sup> fore, ðe ūs worhte ær !  
Venite, adoremus, et procidamus ; et *ploremus*  
ante dominum, qui fecit nos

*Psalms*, xciv, 6.

Ne āhebbað ġē tō hēa ēowre hygeþancas  
ne ġē wið gode æfre gramword *sprecan* !<sup>3</sup>

*Ib.*, lxxiv, 5.

<sup>1</sup>Skeat : *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 187.

<sup>2</sup>Such a use of the infinitive is quite common in Italian in negative expressions of command ; e. g.,

O Pilato, *non fare*

'L figlio mio tormentare

Jacopone da Todi.

Quoted in J. A. Symonds' *Italian Literature*, I, 293.

O santa allegrezza

Di devozione,

Per nulla stagione

*Non m'abandonare*

*Ib.*, I, 301.

Levati su, donzello, e *non dormire*

*Ib.*, I, 57.

In positive expressions of command, the idiom is also familiar to the colloquial speech of several of the modern European languages, notably German and Russian. See Delbrück, II, 459-60.

<sup>3</sup>Grein, in the *Sprachschatz*, glosses the forms as conjunctives.



Nolite extollere in altum cornu vestrum :  
*nolite loqui adversus eum iniquitatem*

swike nu and *gon* ofte to chirche

*Hom.*, II, 66-67.

And if ich habbe wel ispeke þer-of þu nym gome  
 And *nouht* me *vor* to *beten* al *wyp-vte* dome

*O. E. Misc.*, 45, 269.

Fader be þu wid child,  
 and be þu wudewis frend,  
 þe arme gume þu *froueren* ;  
 and þe woke gume þu *coueren*,  
 þe wronke gume þu *rigtin*  
 mid alle þine migtin

*Ib.*, 135, 592.

Gyf þou do hyt, I shal þe gyve  
 Ten pound of gold wel wiþ to lyve ;  
 þo ten pound I take þe here,  
 And me to *selle* on bonde manere,  
 I ne recche unto whom,  
 But onlych he have þe Crystendom

Manning : *Handlyng Synne*.<sup>1</sup>

God seide tel me & *not layne*<sup>2</sup>

*Curs. Mundi*, 1127.

And if grace graunte þe to go in in þis wise,  
 þow shalt see in þi-selue treuthe sitte in þine herte,  
 In a cheyne of charyte as þow a childe were,  
 To *suffre hym and segge* nougte, agein þi sires wille

*Piers Pl.*, v, 614.

Al have I noght to done in this matere  
 More then another man hath in this place,  
 Yet for as mucche as ye, my lord so dere,  
 Han alwey shewed me favour and grace,  
 I dar the better aske of yow a space  
 Of audience, to shewen our requeste,  
 And *ye*, my lord, to doon right as yow leste

*C. T.*, E, 99.

I seye this, be ye redy with good herte  
 To al my lust, and that I frely may,  
 As me best thinketh, do yow laughe or smerte,  
 And *never ye to grucche* it, night ne day.<sup>3</sup>  
 And eek whan I sey "ye," ne say nat "nay,"  
 Neither by word ne frowning contenance ;  
 Swer this, and here I swere our alliance.

*Ib.*, E, 351.

<sup>1</sup> Emerson : *Middle English Reader*, 94, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Göttingen MS reads : þat þu ne lain.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat's punctuation with an interrogation point seems to me to be wrong.

And also *thou to brynge* me thy handfull of the  
 here of hys herde and .iiii. of hys grettest  
 teth

Berners : *Huon*, 50, 20.

Consider he's the prince, and you his subjects,  
 And *not to question or contend* with her  
 Whom he is pleased to honour

Massinger : *Duke of Milan*, I, ii.

It is readily seen that all the foregoing groups of examples are closely related and lend themselves to a common classification. The Indo-Germanic infinitive was, by its very nature, flexible, and its potentialities were variously developed in the various languages. From its primary use in expressing purpose and result, it tended in a number of languages to develop an imperative force. This tendency is most markedly illustrated in Greek, but is manifested also in a number of the modern European languages. In Italian it is quite regular in negative expressions of command, while its use in Russian and German, in all expressions of command, might possibly be considered a direct development from the nominal use of the infinitive.

In Middle English the tendency to develop the imperative force of the infinitive seems to have been no less strong than in ancient Greek. Though all shades of the construction can be illustrated from English texts, it is not possible, by means of the examples discovered, to arrange a chronological sequence which shall establish a clear development from the original phase, the use of the infinitive for purpose and result, to the highest stage, its use as a direct imperative. These extremes are already found in Old English, and they exist side by side, together with all the intermediate stages, throughout Middle English. The examples have been arranged to indicate the manner in which the transition might have occurred. First come those passages in which the infinitive expressing purpose and result is employed, together with a substantive in the nominative case, as equivalent to a clause. The exact function of the infinitive in these

cases is often made clear by the use of a conjunction or of a parallel clause. The infinitive of purpose and result is followed by a group of examples in which the infinitive contains the idea of command, but not directly, only as derived from some verb of commanding, agreeing, appointing, or decreeing in the main clause on which the infinitive is dependent. The accusative with infinitive after these verbs may to some extent have influenced this construction, but that the accusative with infinitive was not the construction intended in these cases is sufficiently evident from the frequent use of the nominative forms of the pronoun. But when the meaning was sufficiently clear from the context, it was often possible to omit the governing verb, which, however, remained vaguely before the consciousness, and the infinitive, being then left as the principal verb of the sentence, came very near to expressing a direct command. From this point the transition is not difficult to the final stage in which the infinitive becomes a direct imperative, without the intervention or even the remotest mental suggestion of a governing verb being felt. The dozen examples of this last use which have been quoted seem to admit of no other interpretation.

There has been included also a group of examples in which the infinitive is employed with an imperative force as parallel or equivalent to a future indicative similarly employed. But this use merges with the one previously described and is quite analogous to the Greek use of the future indicative in commands which is spoken of by Delbrück.

#### FUTURE AND POTENTIAL INFINITIVE

The passages already cited, in which an infinitive is employed parallel to a future indicative to denote command, may suggest the explanation of such a use of the infinitive

when no command is expressed or implied. The examples of an infinitive which is used as equivalent to a future indicative, even when the latter form does not precede, are clear enough.

I leue monkynde *fordone be*<sup>1</sup>  
But hit be stored bi me & þe *Curs. Mundi*, 2939.

If ye hit do I you teche  
Siker may ye be of wreche  
And youre shame shal be coup  
*Alle men to haue you in moun*<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 4133.

Alle þat bereth baslard, brode swerde or launce,  
Axe other hachet or eny wepne ellis,  
Shall be demed to þe deth but if he do it smythye  
In-to sikul or to sithe to schare or to kulter ;  
*Conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres, &c ;*  
*Eche man to pleye with a plow pykoys or spade,*  
*Spynne, or sprede donge or spille hym-self with sleuthe.*  
*Prestes and persones with placebo to hunte,*  
And *dyngen* vpon dauid eche a day til eue *Piers Pl.*, III, 303.

þanne shal þe kynge come and casten hem in yrens  
And but if dobest bede for hem *þei to be þere for eure*  
*Ib.*, VIII, 101.

And þanne shal I come as a kynge crowned with angeles,  
And han out of helle alle mennes soules.  
Fendes and fendekynes bifor me shulle stande,  
And be at my biddynge where so eure me lyketh.  
And<sup>3</sup> *to be merciabie* to man þanne my kynde it asketh  
*Ib.*, XVIII, 369.

And thanne agreen that I may ben he,  
Withoute braunche of vyce in any wyse,  
In trouthe alwey to doon yow my servyse  
As to my lady right and chief resort,  
With al my wit and al my diligence,  
And *I to han*, right as yow list, comfort,  
Under your yerde, egal to myn offence,  
As deeth, if that I breke your defence ;

<sup>1</sup> I think man-kind *sal* perist be (Cotton, Göttingen) ; I þink mankinde *sal* lorne be (Trinity).

<sup>2</sup> Other MSS read : All men *sal* you haue in moun.

<sup>3</sup> Subject *I* omitted.

And that ye deigne me so much honoure,  
 Me to comaunden ought in any houre.  
 And *I to been* your verray humble trewe

*Troilus*, III, 131.

Let hym fynde a sarsyn  
 And *y to fynde* a knyght of myn.  
 The batell vpon them schall goo

*Guy of Warwick*, 3531.

Out of the erth herbys shal spryng  
*Trees to flourish* and frute furth bryng

*Townley*, 2, 43.

and than thou mayest goo and retourne surely  
 in the palays at thy pleasure, and *no man to*  
*let the* for yf thou haddest slayne v. C. men  
 there shalbe none so hardy to touche the

Berners: *Huon*, 107, 3.

assay if ye canne get graunt of therle of Derby  
 to let vs depart, our lyues and goodes saued,  
 and *we to delyuer* to hym this castell (= *nous*  
*li renderons* le fortrece) <sup>1</sup>

Berners: *Chronicle*, 133.

Who so euer causeth a synner to leue his  
 synful lyf shal both saue his owne soule  
 from dampnacion & *his synne to be done away*

Fisher, 123, 28.

When theyr soules ben departed from the  
 bodyes, they shall neyther be cast in to hell  
 neyther into the paynes of purgatory, but  
 without only lette *to be* in the glorious place  
 of heuen

Fisher, 11, 5.

When the future verb is found in a dependent clause  
 (indirect discourse) and *shall* is therefore changed to *should*,  
 the infinitive continues to be employed in the same manner.

As oure lord biforne him higt  
 Of him *to springe* alle þinge to rigt <sup>2</sup>

*Curs. Mundi*, 8527.

For euery cristene creature shulde be kynde til other,  
 And sithen bethen *to helpe*

*Piers Pl.*, x, 364.

alle thinges bityden the whiche that the  
 purviaunce of god hath seyn biforn *to comen*

*Ch. Boeth.*, 194b<sup>12</sup>.

right as we trowen that the thinges which that  
 the purviance wot biforn *to comen* ne ben  
 nat to bityden

*Ib.*, 198, 90.

<sup>1</sup> Krickau, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Other MSS read : of him *suld spring* that all suld right.

"For certaynly, this wot I wel," he seyde,  
 "That for-sight of divyne purveyaunce  
 Hath seyn alwey *me to for-gon Criseyde*" *Troilus*, iv, 960.

& also yf a man had bene of grete age he  
 shulde retourne agayne to the age of .xxx.  
 yere and a woman to become as freshe & lusty  
 as a mayde of .xv. yere *Huon*, 116, 30.

sayd to these lordes of France, how they were  
 well content to be vnder the frenche kynge,  
 so that they myght caste downe their castell  
 to the erthe . . . and on that condicyon the  
 towne of Rochell . . . shulde be for euer vnder  
 the resort and demayne of ye frenche kyng,  
 and neuer to be put away by maryage . . .  
 also *they of the towne to haue a mynt to forge*  
 money *Berners : Chron.*, 454.

The people herynge the wordes of the prophete  
 Ionas and ferynge the *vengeaunce of god to fall*  
 vpon them *Fisher*, 107, 16.

He promysed also at his ascencyon *the holy ghost*  
*to come* *Ib.*, 108, 25.

God almyghty promysed by his prophete  
 Ezechiel that euery true penytent wyllynge  
 to forsake his synfull lyfe shoulde haue  
 forgyuenes, & neuer after *his wyckednes to be*  
*layd* to his charge *Ib.*, 221, 16.

For as for leysore shall not I trust one time or  
 other *lacke to suffice*, for so muche & for  
 muche more to *More*, 356 C.

A variation of this use is that occasionally found in future conditions less vivid.

sayd he wolde neuer depart thens, tyll he had  
 wonne it, or els *the kyng of Scottis to come*, and  
 to reyse his siege parforce *Berners : Chronicle*, 38.

yf ye had weddyd a lady, & loue her derely  
 . . . & then a traytoure pryuely *to purchase*  
 your dethe for loue of your wyfe *Huon*, 287, 15.

I coniure the by ye grete vertu deuyne, & by  
 your parte of paradyce, & that *your soule to*  
*be dampned* yf case be that ye say not the  
 trouth *Ib.*, 287, 8.



but I could then have looked on him without  
 the help of admiration, though the catalogue  
 of his endowments had been tabled by his  
 side, and *I to peruse him by items* *Cymbeline*, I, iv, 4.

With this group the following passages in which the infinitive has a distinctly optative force, are to be compared:

Ne in him desyr noon othere fownes bredde  
 But arguments to this conclusioun,  
 That she on him wolde han compassioun,  
 And *he to be* hir man, whyl he may dure *Troilus*, I, 465.

They would gladly se theyr wyues and  
 chyltren, and *some to se* theyr louers *Huon*, 303, 26.

Heaven would that she these gifts should have,  
 And *I to live and die* her slave *As You Like It*, III, ii, 161.

For would that I myself had such a son,  
 And not that one slight helpless girl I have,—  
 A son so famed, so brave, to send to war,  
 And *I to tarry* with the snow-haired Zal,  
 My father, whom the robber Afghans vex  
 Arnold: *Sohrab and Rustum*.<sup>1</sup>

Oh, that I were a beast on the wild hills,  
 And I had borne thee to my twilight lair  
 Alive, and there had bitten thee to death,  
 And dabbled all thy beauty in the dew—  
 And *he to look* upon it Mackaye: *Sappho and Phaon*, p. 81.

The so-called *resumptive to* construction, in which an infinitive is used parallel to a verb with a modal auxiliary, when the subject is unchanged, is exactly our construction of the infinitive with the force of a future indicative, except that the subject is not repeated before the infinitive. The instances of an infinitive alternating with other than a future auxiliary are of comparatively later date and scarcely found outside of Malory.

<sup>1</sup> Eversley Edition, p. 106.

- If he be rightwis king, þai sall  
 Maintene him both night and day,  
 Or els *to lat* his frendschip fall  
 On faire manere, *and fare* oway Minot's Poems, 25, 113.<sup>1</sup>
- Hit tokenep Adam & his sede  
 Ouer al þe world shulde be sprad  
 And pereof *to be* lord mad Curs. Mundi, 598.
- He shalbe a lord of great renoume,  
 And after me *to were* the crowne Squyr of Low Degre, 1059.<sup>2</sup>
- & who-so wol nat, he xal be had in hold ;  
 & so *to be* cast in carys cold Digby, 60, 150.
- how myght this be, that the day I shall on dye,  
 I sholde breke my nekke, and be hanged, and  
 also *to be* drowned Merlin, 52.
- Yef ye wole yeve vs leve, we will assaye it, and  
*for to preve* the grete lesynge Ib., 62.
- Of yow and yowers I wyll have remenberavns  
 & dayly yower bede woman *for to be* Digby, 129, 1966.
- Thys wryght would wedde no wyfe,  
 Butt yn yougeth *to lede* hys lyfe Wright's Chaste Wife, 19.<sup>3</sup>
- That no man schuld beseke her of grace,  
 Nor her *to begyle* Ib., 101.<sup>2</sup>
- I shalle be your woman and *to doo* ony thyng  
 that myghte please yow Malory, 150, 2.
- And anone the kyng commaunded that *none*  
*of them* vpon payne of dethe *to myssaye* them  
 ne doo them ony harme Ib., 160, 32.
- we wyl be felawes to gyders and neuer *to fayle* Malory, 194, 21.
- god wold that ye shold put him from me  
 outhur *to slee* hym Ib., 221, 28.
- I wyl foryeue the the dethe of my broder and  
 for euer *to become* thy man Ib., 224, 18.
- ye shal haue homage & feaute of me & *an C*  
*knyghtes* *to be* alweyes at your commaundement Ib., 231, 7.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Hall.<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt: *Early Popular Poetry*.<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Baldwin, § 239 note.

I loue her and wille rescowe her or els *to dye* *Ib.*, 237, 22.

I will doo to yow homage and feaute with an  
C knyghtes with me and alle the dayes of my  
lyf *to doo* you seruyse where ye wille  
commaunde me  
*Ib.*, 266, 29 ; 277, 11 ; 282, 34 ; 286, 21 ; 242, 20 ;  
244, 14 ; 690, 5 ; 191, 8 ; 716, 29.

I would no more  
Endure this wooden slavery than *to suffer*  
The flesh-fly blow my mouth *Temp.*, III, i, 62.

Who would be so mock'd with glory, or *to live*  
But in a dream of friendship *Timon*, IV, ii, 33.

She tells me she'll wed the stranger knight,  
Or never more *to view* nor day nor night *Pericles*, II, v, 17.

Some pagan shore,  
Where these two Christian armies might combine  
The blood of malice in a vein of league,  
And not *to spend* it so unneighborly *John*, V, ii, 39.<sup>1</sup>

## ABSOLUTE CONSTRUCTION

A secondary idea is sometimes joined to the main clause by the insertion of a parenthetical nominative with infinitive. Such an expression is by its form subordinate and requires no connective to elucidate its relation to the main clause. But because the secondary clause cannot be construed as in any way dependent upon the main verb, the writer often introduces the conjunction *and*, and thus gives a coördinate value to the infinitive and the finite verb.

Also y will þat Iohn Edmund haue al þe led  
. . . , *he to paie* þer-for as it ys worthy *E. E. W.*, 2, 11.

And all the remenauntys of my godys, y wyll  
they be preysyd & parttyd in thre : *on part*  
*for to be don* for my soule, & that other part  
to my wyfe *Ib.*, 13, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Abbott, § 350.

- Also y be-queyeth to ysabell my dowter, an .C.  
pounde to hir mariage, of whiche somme  
ys owynge to me, to be payd, an .C. Mark  
. . . *and þe remnaund to be payid of my godes*  
þat leuyth *Ib., 19, 11.*
- Also I bequethe to my wyfe alle þe goodis þat  
be meuablis, *and she to be my prinsepall*  
seccutur *Ib., 80, 4.*
- Also I be-quethe to be distribued a-mong  
prisoners . . . *the prisoners to praie for my*  
soule, xx.s' *Ib., 78, 3.*
- Item I beqwethe all maner of godis to my  
wyf Alson Newent, *and she forto do me*  
like as she wolde I dede for her in þe  
same cas *Ib., 83, 13.*
- y will the best prest that may be founde, sey  
for me the saide trentall, with the hole  
diriges, and all the seruice thurghout the  
yere, *and the prest to have Ib., 88, 10.*
- And I make myn executours, Marie my wyif,  
and my sone Richard, *Marie to be evermore*  
myn executrice principall, *And no thyng to*  
*be dymened agens here wille Ib., 93, 17.*
- All-so I woll that Iane Newmarch haue CC  
mark in gold, *And I to bere all Costes as*  
for her bryngynge yn-to seynt Katrens, or  
where-euer she woll be elles *Ib., 118, 14.*  
82, 14; 95, 16; 123, 18; 132, 18.
- Item, I will and ordeyne . . . that the pore  
pepyl . . . have . . . quantitie of the x.  
part of oon yeerly valewe and reueneuse  
of the seyd lordshepis . . . *halfe to be*  
*departyd to . . . parishe cherchis for*  
*werkys . . . and half to be departyd amonges*  
the seyd pore pepil *Will of Sir J. Fastolf.*
- I geue and qwethe to Willm Hussher iijs  
iiijd, *and he to have his identour of his*  
prentished *Bury Wills, 16.*
- first I will be .iij. preests yerely at the said  
obite, whereof oon to be assigned to syng  
masse of Requiem, another masse of the v.

Wounds . . . and at the tyme of the  
lavatory *everych of them to say* "De Pro-  
fundis"

Fabyan's Will, ix.

Than bothe the brethern be-sought hym full  
lowly to a-bide with hem, *and thei to be*  
*gouerned by hym as he wolde*

*Merlin*, 48.

this is my counceill . . . that we lete puruey  
x knyghtes . . . & *they to kepe this swerd*

Malory, 40, 35.

And thenne hadde she me deuysed to be kyng  
in this land and soo to regne *and she to be my*  
quene

*Ib.*, 133, 7.

therefore they agreed on a truce, to endure to  
the fyrst day of May next after, in all the  
marches of Calais . . . *and other landes to be*  
syll in warre

Berners : *Chronicle*, 478.

tidynges came, how trewse was taken bytwene  
the sayde two kynges, to endure to the feest  
of Saint John Baptyst; and in the mean  
tyme, *the pope to do what he myght to make*  
a further peace

*Ib.*, 185.

Man that was create in great honoure, & among  
all creatures lyuyng none but he had theyr  
face set streyght to loke vp in to heuen, en-  
dued also with reason and free wyll, fourmed  
and made lyke vnto the ymage of almyghty  
god, ordeyned by his maker to be aboue all  
other creatres of the worlde, *and they also to*  
*be at his commaundement*

Fisher, 39, 1.

If they wold use but a fewe nombre of houndes,  
only to harborowe, or rouse, the game, and  
by their yorning to gyue knowlege whiche  
way it fleeth; *the remenant of the disporte to*  
*be in pursuyng with iauelyns and other*  
waipons, in maner of warre

Elyot, 193.

warnyng her (as for all) hensfurth to desist for  
feare of the reward of shame, *and he to rest*  
*contented with the wrong he had alrede done*

Fenton's Bandello, II, 82.<sup>1</sup>

be then desired

By her that else will take the thing she begs

<sup>1</sup> *Ed.* Douglas.

A little to disquantity your train,  
*And the remainder* that shall still depend,  
*To be* such men as may besort your age,  
 Which know themselves and you

*Lear, I, iv, 268.*

But she used him for her sport, like what  
 she was, to trifle a leisure sentence or  
 two with, and then to be dismissed, *and*  
*she to be* the Great Lady still

*Elia: On Some Old Actors.*

### HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

The infinitive is sometimes found parallel to a simple narrative tense.

Stormes roos on euery syde,  
 Sonne & moone þe ligt gan hide.  
 Hit merked ouer al þis world wide.  
 þe reyn fel doun so wondir fast,  
 þe welles wax, þe bankes brest,  
 þe see *to ryse*, þe erthe *to cleft*,  
 þe springes all oute *to dref*<sup>1</sup>

*Curs. Mundi, 1762.*

þe frount frounseþ þat was shene,  
 þe nese droppeþ ofte bitwene,  
*Teep to rote, breep to stynke*

*Ib., 3571.*

Esau went hoom his wey  
 vnto syer þere he coom fro,  
 and *iacob* to his fadir *to go*<sup>2</sup>

*Ib., 4020.*

In þat lond was a werre strong  
 And hit lasted somdel long.  
 Foure kynges werred vpon fyue  
 þe fyue ageyn þe foure *to stryue*<sup>3</sup>

*Ib., 2491.*

paraurenture he loueth in somme other places  
 ladyes and gentylwymmen, and *to be loued*  
 agayne, and he be suche a man of prowess Malory, 141, 1.

<sup>1</sup> þe springes cum over-all utedriue *Cotton.*

þe springes gan over-all utedriue *Göttingen.*

<sup>2</sup> *can ga* (Cotton & Fairfax); *gan ga* (Göttingen).

<sup>3</sup> *to-stryue* (Cotton).



## CONCLUSION

The results of this entire investigation may briefly be summarized as follows:

1. Old English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, possessed the construction of an accusative with a predicate as the object of a principal verb. This predicate could be a substantive, an adjective, a participle, or an infinitive. The usage was limited only by the capacity of the governing verb for taking an object in the accusative case. Subject to this limitation, the construction was becoming more common in early Middle English, without the aid of Latin influence, but its rapid extension in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may to some extent have been stimulated by the Latinizing of the English vocabulary which was going on during that period. In its fullest development in the middle of the sixteenth century, the construction is distinguished by the same essential characteristics which marked it in the earliest English. It at no time developed with the freedom of the classical construction.

2. The use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb, which has often been identified with a similar classical construction, is really of native origin. The instances in which the substantive is in the nominative case far outnumber the others, but it is possible to account for the examples in which the substantive assumes another case by proving a variety of sources for the construction. This construction is not found at all in Old English, is in general use between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries inclusive, and survives in Modern English in a disguised form in the so-called "*inorganic for*" construction, in which the substantive is preceded by the preposition *for* and in which the case is therefore necessarily objective.

3. The infinitive, accompanied by a substantive, has been found in Middle English employed to express purpose and result, to denote various shades of command in sentences in which a verb of commanding is expressed or implied, and finally, to express command by itself without the presence of any verb of commanding. These uses have been classified under a common heading as the conjunctive-imperative use of the infinitive, because of their analogy to a similar use of the infinitive in Greek.

4. The infinitive occurs in Middle English as equivalent to a future indicative. When it is reduced to a dependent position in a subordinate clause, this infinitive naturally tends to become potential in its force, and it is therefore not surprising that it should also be found to have an optative force in certain independent statements.

5. The use of a nominative and infinitive in place of a clause, to express an idea parenthetically or loosely joined to the principal idea of the sentence, is frequent in Middle English. This is the Absolute Infinitive, which is also quite common in Modern English.

6. The infinitive sometimes occurs in Middle English as equivalent to a simple narrative tense, and in this respect it resembles the Latin historical infinitive.

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## VITA

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The author of this dissertation was born in Russia in 1883. He came to the United States with his parents in 1892 and entered the public schools of New York, graduating in 1898. He held a Pulitzer scholarship from 1898 to 1906. He received his secondary schooling in the Horace Mann and DeWitt Clinton High Schools of New York, graduating from the latter in 1901. He entered Columbia College in 1901 and took courses in literature under Professors T. R. Price, Brander Matthews, G. E. Woodberry, G. P. Krapp, and Calvin Thomas, receiving the degree of A. B. in 1904. He was enrolled in the graduate school of Columbia University, in the Department of English, from 1904 to 1907, and during that time took courses in Comparative Literature under Professor J. E. Spingarn, in English Literature under Professors Brander Matthews, G. R. Carpenter, W. P. Trent, W. A. Neilson (now of Harvard University), F. T. Baker, G. P. Krapp, W. W. Lawrence, and Dr. C. M. Hathaway (now of Annapolis). He also had courses in philology under Professors A. V. W. Jackson, H. A. Todd, A. F. J. Remy, and R. Tombo, Jr. He received the degree of A. M. in 1905. In 1907 he was appointed Instructor in English at the University of Illinois.





